

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW



SPRING, 1966

*A genealogy of the New York  
newspaper merger*

*New Hampshire's paper tiger:  
his power and politics*

*Local blackouts of network  
news: a second look*

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,  
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to  
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible  
service ...*

*... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-  
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Spring, 1966

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## The Pulitzer Prizes

The *Columbia Journalism Review*, which has sought "to deal forthrightly with what it finds to be deficient" in all fields of journalism, cannot with consistency remain silent when it considers something in its parent institution to be subject to improvement. The case in point is the Pulitzer Prize mechanism at Columbia University.

The subject is at hand because of the spate of recent publicity about criticisms of the prizes. Many of the complaints are a rehash of old allegations. The charge that chance or whim sometimes dictates awards has only rarely been justified, the allegation of casualness by the Advisory Board on the Pulitzer Prizes is much exaggerated. The recitals of past "mistakes" apply, at worst, to the kind of judgmental errors that can be seen in retrospect in any program of awards.

However, the Pulitzer Prizes are not *any* awards. They are fifty years old, and a national institution, of pre-eminent importance to American journalism and of substantial importance to American arts and letters. They sometimes are of great monetary value to the winners. It seems only just that flaws in their machinery, if they exist, should be studied and, if possible, corrected.

Briefly, that machinery runs as follows: Juries (announced by name for the journalism prizes, anonymous in arts and letters) make recommendations to the Advisory Board on the Pulitzer Prizes, composed of newspaper editors and publishers who elect their own new members. The board considers the jurors' recommendations, makes its decisions, and passes them on to the Columbia University trustees, who customarily approve the prizes (although they have the rarely exercised option of withholding them). The awards are announced in the name of the university.

The record under this system has been reasonably good—"a list you can stand on," in the words

of one former music juror. Moreover, those charged with making the system function generally have been men of character and ability.

But certain of the recent criticisms deserve consideration. Among these is the statement of Robert Bendiner in his article in the May *McCall's* that "the [Pulitzer] proceedings are surrounded by an air of secrecy that on any other front would be intolerable to the very newspaper editors who create it." He reports that, in accordance with the usual procedure, the board's chairman refused to talk with him and referred him "stiffly to the Columbia University news office for official hand-outs" and that the board's secretary sent word that he "does not grant interviews."

The *Review* believes that this fiftieth anniversary of the Pulitzer Prizes is a good time to reappraise those parts of the present mechanism that can be changed. Factors that will bear study include these:

1. The question of whether the time has come to expand the advisory board (now limited to newspaper men) to include members with qualifications in such fields as history, art, biography, drama, fiction, and music.
2. The advisability of periodic review of serious proposals for modifying the prizes to keep abreast of changes in communications and the arts.
3. The possibility of reversion to more thorough board discussions and of occasional face-to-face meetings between the board and jurors in arguable cases. Not in years has such a discussion taken place.
4. The question of secrecy. Jurors in non-journalistic fields are now never publicly identified—except when they protest decisions. Has not the time come to bring the proceedings into the open, announcing the names of the jurors and, when their recommendations are overridden, releasing those recommendations along with a reasoned statement supporting the board's decision? At worst, this would lead only to the kind of open



discussion that the press likes to say is healthy in a free society.

Secrecy has also created the situation in which no spokesman is authorized to discuss the prize program responsibly with the press or with scholars, while individual board members feel free to make anonymous statements on the prizes (even to the point of insulting jurors). Cannot the board end the practice under which the chairman and secretary, both experienced newspapermen, feel compelled to send word to responsible journalists that they "do not grant interviews"?

Of course, no board of judges should get into interminable public harangues over the rights and wrongs of individual awards. Anyone who has served on awards panels knows how easy it is to avoid this. This need, however, hardly justifies the present policy of secrecy, which editors would protest to the skies if it were employed by any public body.

Society and communications are changing. Constructive modifications of the Pulitzer Prizes may be in order and, at the least, deserve mature consideration.

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The secretary to the Advisory Board on the Pulitzer Prizes, who is also an advisory editor of this publication, has not participated in preparing the preceding editorial.

## The Mossler trial

There has been some deserved self-congratulation among editors over the disinclination of newspapers to convert the seven-week Mossler-Powers murder trial into a national orgy. An Associated Press check of sixty big papers early in the trial showed that only seven put the story on page one; twenty-one ignored it. A poll in the *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors* showed a distinct distaste for the story.

This restraint made all the more glaring those papers that continued (as it was put by Dick Smyser of *The Oak Ridger*) "to exploit the judicial process for purposes of a sex serial." The two Houston papers gave the trial continuous play on the grounds that Houston was Mrs. Mossler's home town. William Woestendiek of

the *Houston Post* said his paper kept the story on page one because "Candy Mossler was the story that interested most of our readers." He did not say what had first stirred this neighborly concern.

New York had full morning and evening coverage in *The News* and the late *Journal-American*. While Jim Bishop in the latter used his talent to retail smirking gossip, Theo Wilson in the former became a confidante of Mrs. Mossler, thus enabling the *News* promotion department to score a first—a joint appearance in a television commercial of a reporter and a murder-trial defendant.

But why grumble? There will always be a few to feed on such stuff.

## A plug for the Supreme Court

"The 'Ginzburg rule' was stated in the majority opinion as follows: 'Where the purveyor's sole emphasis is on the sexually provocative aspects of his publications, that fact may be decisive in the determination of obscenity. In other words, the way in which a publication is advertised or distributed can make it obscene.'"—*U.S. News & World Report*, April 4, 1966.

Pondering this and the extraordinary opinion written by Justice Tom Clark the *Review* editors found themselves composing the following ad:

### TOM CLARK on FANNY HILL

Why read all of the *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure (Fanny Hill)*? Read instead the most lurid passages as selected and graphically summarized by a leading authority, Associate Justice Tom Clark. Read Justice Clark on:

"sexual debauchery"

"lurid details of the loss of virginity"

"precise descriptions of the response, condition, size, shape and color of the sexual organs"

UNEXPURGATED—IN PLAIN WRAPPER

## Leap before you look

Too many papers and broadcasters went too far with Dr. Michael DeBakey's pump for aiding the heart, as in the *Chicago Daily News*:

### Artificial Heart Put in Man

# Heading for the last merger

Starting at right, the *Review* presents the family background of the merger of New York City newspapers, which was intended to create on April 25 a new afternoon newspaper called the *World Journal* and on May 1 a new Sunday newspaper called the *World Journal Tribune* (not to mention a new morning newspaper under the old name of *Herald Tribune*). Because newspaper unions, unhappy over the fate of their members, blocked the way, these events did not occur on schedule.

Behind each of these new entities is a genealogy of foundings, foundering, and mergers, each combination entered as reluctantly as that of 1966. In part, the chart is offered for the record.

More important, one can see reflected in the chart the travails of an industry perpetually insecure and murderously competitive, abused periodically by unscrupulous manipulators. Especially heavy is the hand of Frank A. Munsey, who handled newspapers, in William Allen White's famous words, with "the talent of a meat packer, the morals of a money changer and the manners of an undertaker." He thrust himself into the New York newspaper field from 1891 until his death in 1925. He was the embalmer of three papers in the *Herald Tribune* lineage, and of two more in the *World-Telegram & Sun* branch. Certainly, he stabilized the field to an extent, but he also showed that merely cutting down the number of papers is not in itself the road to permanent prosperity or good journalism.

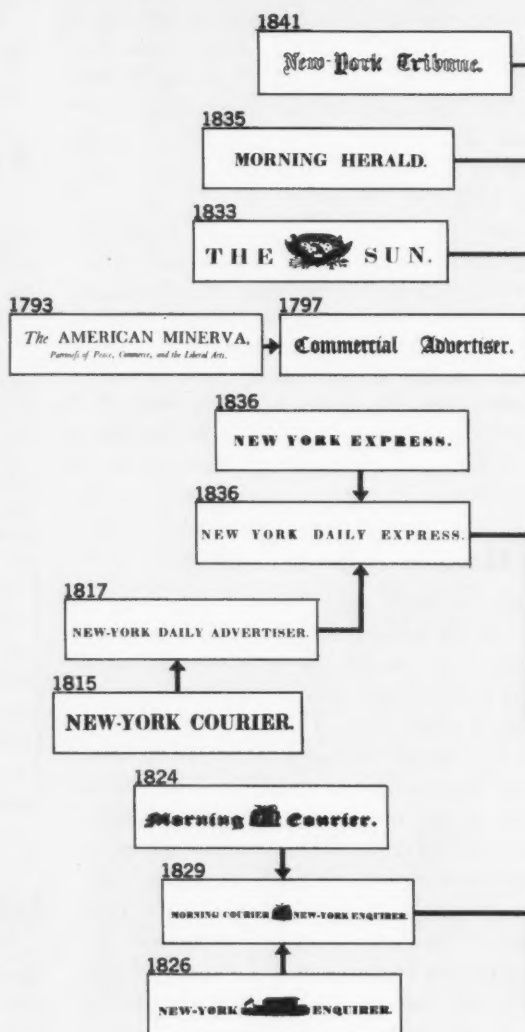
One can also see in the chart the cycles of foundings and mergers: the wave of beginnings up to 1841, the first popular press; the second wave after the Civil War; a third riding on the technological advances of the 1880's. There was also the tabloid wave of the 1920's, but for the older papers shown here that decade was the era of Munsey.

Finally, one can see here forgotten nameplates, representing the efforts of hundreds of forgotten editors, publishers, and reporters. Their newspapers lasted anywhere from four months to nearly 130 years. But in the end, none sustained corporate life and now the chart has narrowed to one entry.

## A GENEALOGY OF THE NEW YORK MERGER

This chart shows in detail the antecedents of the newspapers involved in the three-way merger in New York this spring, starting with the founding of the American Minerva in 1793. It can best be understood as showing the lineage of three families: the Journal-American at top, the Herald Tribune in the middle, the World-Telegram at the bottom. The nameplates, many of them nearly forgotten, are reproduced from originals. The dates next to them show the year of founding or merger. Details of the history of each newspaper are shown in the directory on pages 6 and 7.

Compiled, collected, and designed by Daniel J. Leab





## A GENEALOGY OF THE NEW YORK MERGER

*Below are details of the history of the New York dailies that were ancestors of those in the 1966 merger. Their place in the sequence can best be understood by reference to the chart on pages 4 and 5.*

### I. The Journal-American Family

**THE DAILY STAR:** Published as "the successor to the Old Sun" from January 25, 1868, by ex-employees of *The Sun*, who believed that the latter's sale to C. A. Dana meant its transformation into a "Radical Journal." Consolidated with *THE DEMOCRAT*, May 14, 1871. Bought by Frank A. Munsey (1854-1925) in January, 1891, and changed (February 1) to *THE DAILY CONTINENT*, a pioneer tabloid. After four months, became the full-size *MORNING ADVERTISER* under John A. Cockerill (1845-1896), a former Pulitzer editor. Sold to Hearst April 1, 1897, for \$125,000.

**THE DEMOCRAT:** Started August 15, 1868, by Marcus M. (Brick) Pomeroy (1833-1896), to support "a white man's government for white men" and other Democratic programs. Sold to *THE STAR* May 12, 1871.

**MORNING JOURNAL:** Established November 16, 1882, by Albert Pulitzer (1851-1909), Joseph's brother, on \$25,000 capital. Sold to John R. McLean (1848-1916), publisher of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, early in 1895 for \$1,000,000. McLean sold to William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) on September 25, 1895, for \$180,000; began publication under Hearst November 7, 1895. Spawned the *NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL*, September 28, 1896.

Published as the *JOURNAL AND ADVERTISER* after Hearst's purchase of *MORNING ADVERTISER* for an Associated Press franchise. Became the *NEW YORK JOURNAL AND AMERICAN* after public reaction against Hearst's violent attacks on President McKinley before assassination. Became the *NEW YORK AMERICAN* (1903-1937). On June 24, 1937, bankers to whom Hearst had yielded financial management killed the *AMERICAN*. Part of features and AP franchise went to Hearst's *MIRROR* (1924-1964) and the rest to the *EVENING JOURNAL*. Merged paper, eventually called *NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN*, ceased publication April 24, 1966, and *JOURNAL* became part of name of new afternoon paper.

### II. The Herald Tribune Family

**THE SUN:** Established September 3, 1833, by Benjamin H. Day (1810-1889) became city's first successful penny paper. Sold to Day's brother-in-law, Moses Y. Beach (1800-1868), in 1838. Sold to C. A. Dana (1819-1897) and associates January 25, 1868. Company also issued *EVENING SUN* from March 17, 1887. Both papers bought by Munsey June 30, 1916, for \$2,468,000. The morning *SUN* was consolidated with another Munsey paper to form *THE SUN AND NEW YORK PRESS* on July 3, 1916. Within the month it became simply *THE SUN*. Combined with *THE NEW YORK HERALD* on February 1, 1920, and appeared with combined name until September 30, 1920, when *THE SUN* disappeared. (For chronology of *Evening Sun*, see below.)

**MORNING HERALD:** Started May 6, 1835, by James Gordon Bennett (1795-1872). Management passed to J. G. Bennett, Jr. (1841-1918) in 1866. Declined after 1900, and sold by Bennett estate January 17, 1920, to Munsey, who paid \$4,000,000 for *HERALD*, *Telegram*, and *Paris Herald*. Combined February 1, 1920, with the morning *SUN*. Called *THE SUN AND*



Cartoon from *Life*, October 5, 1916, shows Frank A. Munsey as gravedigger for Dana's *Sun*



THE NEW YORK HERALD until September 30, 1920, then became again THE NEW YORK HERALD. Sold to Reid family's TRIBUNE, with Paris edition, for \$5,000,000 March 17, 1924.

**NEW YORK TRIBUNE:** Founded April 10, 1841, by Horace Greeley (1811-1872). After Greeley's death, control fell to the managing editor, Whitelaw Reid (1837-1912), and the paper remained with the Reid family eighty-five years. In 1924, Munsey attempted to buy it; instead, the Reids bought his *Herald*. The NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE appeared on March 18, 1924. In August, 1958, the Reids transferred control of the paper to John Hay Whitney, American ambassador in London. Merged into new joint corporation with *Journal-American* and *World-Telegram*, April, 1966.

**THE PRESS:** First published December 1, 1887, by Frank Hatton (1846-1895) a former postmaster general, and Robert P. Porter (1852-1917), a journalist. Munsey bought the paper on September 16, 1912, for \$1,000,000. On July 3, 1916, Munsey combined it with the morning *SUN*, the name disappeared on July 30.

### III. The World-Telegram Family

**AMERICAN MINERVA:** First issued December 9, 1793, guided by Noah Webster supported Alexander Hamilton. Quarrels among proprietors led to suspension on September 30, 1797, and founding by Webster of a successor, the evening **COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER**, on October 2, 1797. Lasted until January 30, 1904, under that name. Became **THE GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER** on February 1, 1904, after promotion campaign. Bought for \$2,000,000 on May 29, 1923, by Munsey, and merged six days later with the evening *SUN*. Name of *GLOBE* disappeared March 9, 1924.

**COURIER:** Established January 10, 1815, by Barent Gardenier, who was involved in paper's operation until February 19, 1817, when it was taken over by Theodore Dwight (1764-1846) for the National Republicans. On April 9, 1817, it appeared as the **NEW-YORK DAILY ADVERTISER**. After Dwight's retirement, was merged with politically sympathetic **NEW YORK EXPRESS**, November 1, 1836.

**NEW YORK EXPRESS:** Founded as a morning paper June 20, 1836, by James Brooks (1810-1873) with \$7,500 capital. Absorbed the **DAILY ADVERTISER** later in year. Became in 1864 an evening paper. Brooks joined by his brother Erastus (1815-1886), who remained with the paper until 1877, when it became, under "Honest" John Kelly (1821-1886), an organ of Tammany Hall. Consolidated with **THE EVENING MAIL** December 5, 1881.

**NEW YORK EVENING MAIL:** Started September 21, 1867, by Charles H. Sweetser (1841-1871), a newspaperman, and, after various owners, was sold November, 1877, at a sheriff's sale. Cyrus W. Field (1819-1892), promoter of the Atlantic cable, took control in 1878 and three years later bought the

**EXPRESS** for its AP franchise. **THE MAIL AND EXPRESS** appeared on November 5, 1881. After its reputation was tarnished in World War I by collaboration with German propagandists, it was bought for \$2,200,000 by Munsey, who combined it with the **TELEGRAM** on January 28, 1924. The **EVENING MAIL** part of the name was dropped on May 17, 1925.

**THE EVENING TELEGRAM:** James Gordon Bennett, Jr., son of the *Herald's* founder, started the **TELEGRAM** independently on July 1, 1867, printing it on pink paper. Bought with other Bennett papers by Munsey, January 17, 1920; combined with the **MAIL** four years later. As **THE NEW YORK TELEGRAM**, sold to Scripps-Howard, becoming that company's first New York venture, February 12, 1927. With Scripps-Howard purchase of the **WORLD**, February 26, 1931, became part of **NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM**. Name disappeared in merger of 1966.

**EVENING SUN:** First issued March 17, 1887, as offshoot of the morning *Sun*. Sold, with morning *Sun*, to Munsey in 1916. On June 4, 1923, Munsey combined *Sun* with his newly acquired *Globe*; combined name lasted until March 9, 1924, when title became *The Sun*. Munsey died in 1925; in 1926, William Dewart (1875-1944) took control. On January 5, 1950, bought by Scripps-Howard and name added to that of the **WORLD-TELEGRAM**. Subordinate for sixteen years, name vanished in the 1966 merger.

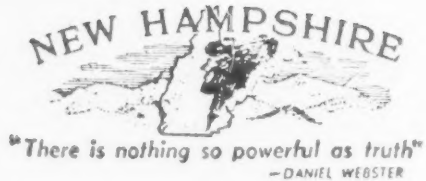
**MORNING COURIER:** Started by John B. Skillman (c. 1796-1834), hardware merchant, May 3, 1827. Sold to his brother-in-law, James Watson Webb (1802-1884), December, 1827. Webb acquired **NEW YORK ENQUIRER** and published combined paper, May 25, 1829. After printing confession of inability to change with times, consolidated with **THE WORLD**, 1861. The **COURIER** and **ENQUIRER** names were dropped December 29, 1863.

**NEW YORK ENQUIRER:** Started by Mordecai M. Noah (1785-1851), a Jacksonian, July 6, 1826. Costly competition with **COURIER** led to consolidation in 1827, and Noah soon sold out to Webb. Name survived, with **COURIER**, until dropped by **THE WORLD**, 1863.

**THE WORLD:** Started June 14, 1860, by Alexander Cummings (1810-1879), James Spalding (1821-1872), Richard Grant White (1821-1885), as religious penny paper. After losses, merged with **COURIER** and **ENQUIRER** July 1, 1861; appeared for two and a half years as **THE WORLD AND MORNING COURIER** and **NEW YORK ENQUIRER**. After succession of owners, **THE WORLD** was bought in May, 1883, by Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911) for \$346,000. Pulitzer began the **EVENING WORLD**, October 10, 1887. His sons received court permission to break their father's will February 26, 1931, and sold the papers to Roy Howard (1883-1964) of Scripps-Howard for \$5,000,000. Combined **EVENING WORLD** and **TELEGRAM** appeared February 27, 1931; morning **WORLD** ceased publication. In 1966, name of **WORLD** was preserved in new evening newspaper.



# New Hampshire's paper tiger



A vitriolic publisher and his modest-sized newspaper have grown into national legend among politicians and newspapermen. Here is a close-up examination of the facts in the case of William Loeb

By HELEN KIRKPATRICK MILBANK

Publisher William Loeb is a tiger with a paper — the *Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader*, the only New Hampshire newspaper that circulates throughout the state. Any attempt to assess its influence in the state leads inevitably to the power and personality behind this highly controversial newspaper and its Sunday counterpart, the *New Hampshire News*.

The personality is Loeb, who is a rugged individualist, more feared than any other man in the state today. The power? It is indisputably Loeb's so long as he pays his bills. For it is no secret — and he has made no attempt to conceal the fact — that his Union Leader Corporation is in hock to the Teamsters' Union for more than \$2,000,000.

The *Union Leader* is an all-day paper and the only one in the state with morning editions. Its total circulation is 53,800 in a state of 194,000 households. There are 30,000 copies sold in the greater Manchester area. The Sunday edition — the *News* — sells 45,700 copies. However, each is outsold by the combined sales in New Hampshire

of three Boston papers — the *Globe*, the *Herald*, and the *Record American*, whose daily circulation is 58,700; their Sunday editions total 102,400 copies. (During the recent Boston newspaper blackout, the usual situation was reversed. As it had in two earlier blackouts, the *Union Leader* poured copies into Boston at the rate of 70,000 a day and 120,000 on Sunday.) New Hampshire's eight other dailies — all evening papers — have a total circulation of 82,000. None has statewide distribution.

In spite of the fact that not more than one-third, at most, of New Hampshire's 607,000 people read the *Union Leader*, it is generally credited with playing a major role in politics on both state and national levels. Most office-seekers hope for Loeb's support, or at least his neutrality. His help can save them from obscurity; his opposition leads almost surely to vilification. Though his editorial campaigns mesmerize men in public life, Loeb himself makes no claim for their effectiveness. Indeed he points out that, for example, he campaigned for more than eight years for abolition of milk marketing controls, which were not abolished until 1966.

Both in elections and in public backing for measures advocated by the *Union Leader*, it is no easier to prove cause and effect than to credit an Indian rain dance with the subsequent down-

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*Helen Kirkpatrick Milbank, formerly a foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News Service, now lives in Marlboro, New Hampshire.*

pour. Loeb backed Wesley Powell for governor; Powell was elected. Loeb turned against Powell; Powell was defeated. Loeb was a strong supporter of Styles Bridges, who held his Senate seat for twenty-four years before his death in 1961. Loeb campaigned vigorously for Bridges's widow to succeed to her husband's seat. But she was decisively beaten in the primary. Robert Taft was Loeb's candidate for the presidency in 1952; Eisenhower carried the state's primary easily.

"When Barry Goldwater was defeated in the 1964 primary, it was largely because he was carrying the burden of Bill Loeb's support," a member of the Republican National Committee from another state said.

Yet no Republican running for the governorship or for Congress believes that he can ignore the *Union Leader*, and he prays that it will not ignore him. A few say they prefer Loeb's attack to his praise, but unless they receive one or the other they can be certain their names will rarely be seen outside the circulation area of their hometown paper.

"A bright young man can sit in the legislature for years," said one politician who has held both state and national offices, "and the *Manchester Union Leader* will never mention him. But if Loeb finds someone who mirrors his views, he will be fed material and given a tremendous build-up in both the news and editorial columns. The ordinary citizen may not like the men Loeb supports, but he never hears about the others."

"A terrible blot on the state," is how a state senator, a Republican, describes the Loeb papers. A Republican leader in the state goes even further: "Mr. Loeb and his newspapers are perhaps the most evil influence in the State of New Hampshire. Loeb exercises tremendous influence on the course of political events here. He is a major factor in discouraging decent men and women from running for office."

Whether this is really so or not, enough politicians believe it to be. In Concord last year, the 424 legislators were provided, at their request, with 284 copies of the *Union Leader* daily, to 126 copies of the *Concord Monitor* and 67 copies of assorted other dailies. The reason is obvious from a study of the state's other eight daily newspapers.

None can rival the *Union Leader's* coverage of the statehouse — not even the *Concord Monitor* and *New Hampshire Patriot*, whose offices are directly across the street. D. Frank O'Neil, the *Union Leader's* political editor, stands head and shoulders above his colleagues. If delegates to the General Court (the legislature) sometimes find that O'Neil's reporting emphasizes items that fit his publisher's political philosophy, most would admit that this has been known to happen elsewhere in the country.

In addition to the most thorough political coverage available in the state, the *Union Leader* devotes a good deal of space to other news about the state and its communities. It maintains a large stable of stringers all over the state — men conceded by the paper's critics and opposition to be first-rate reporters.

When it was acquired by Loeb in 1946, the *Union Leader* was a nationally respected newspaper. The *Union* was started in 1912 by Colonel Frank Knox, the Rough Rider who supported Teddy Roosevelt and the Bull Moose movement and later published newspapers in Michigan and in Chicago, and who ran for Vice-President with Landon. An older paper, *The Leader*, was bought and merged with the *Union*.

Knox was a progressive Republican. Loeb is a conservative and, in Republican terms, a maverick. He is the son of William Loeb, Theodore Roosevelt's White House secretary, a one-time president of the America China Association, a legal resident of Reno, Nevada (but living most of the time on a country estate at Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts), and is a publisher of papers in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut.

Loeb's publishing style was already known to New England before he bought the *Union Leader* from Knox's widow. He was, and still is, publisher of the *St. Albans Daily Messenger* and the *Burlington News* in Vermont. He has recently acquired the Bridgeport *Connecticut Sunday Herald*. Keeping alive the old Hearst-Pulitzer tradition of personal journalism, Loeb seeks none of the anonymity of modern publishers. He signs almost daily front page editorials—pithy, blisteringly scathing, and always colorful diatribes on many

subjects and personalities. Readers are never left in doubt. If the language and extreme positions he usually offers seems shocking, that is precisely what he intends.

The average reader is, in Loeb's view, too ill-informed and apathetic for his own good or that of the nation. Only when the reader is startled and shocked will he sit up, find out what's going on (with assistance from the *Union Leader*) and take action, Loeb believes. Regular readers are, by now, well aware of those things that Loeb opposes: taxes in general and sales taxes in particular, big government, Democrats, civil rights legislation, the United Nations, and communism, to name a few. If he seems to equate all six, that is the reader's inference, not Loeb's actual words.

Loeb's conservatism doesn't fit easily into any recognized mold. His strident anti-communism and distaste for all liberalism (he has called dissenting editors in the state "gul-liberals") is not accompanied by tolerance of the Ku Klux Klan or Robert Welch, whom he calls hatemongers and rabble-rousers. He describes himself as a "19th century liberal." His political and economic beliefs may be well to the right of today's center, but he has long been an ardent supporter of trade unions. For his own Manchester employees, he instituted a profit-sharing plan (50-50). There have not been many profits to share since 1957, when he started a newspaper in Haverhill, Massachusetts. This resulted in two antitrust suits and a judgment against him. To meet this debt, he has twice borrowed from the Teamsters Union Pension Fund.

It may have been his sympathy for union causes or merely his acute business sense, but probably a combination of both which led him to Haverhill. The 150-year-old *Gazette*, in the strongly unionized industrial town of Haverhill, across the Massachusetts line from Manchester, was struck by its printers in November, 1957. Haverhill merchants, heavily stocked for the Christmas trade, were as reluctant to advertise in the struck paper as they were to lose their holiday business. A group of six retailers met with Loeb and urged him to start a competing paper. The *Journal* began as a weekly shopping news but almost immediately was turned into a daily. It gave heavy coverage

to local news, strong support to unions, and a rare amount of space in news columns to advertisers. Striking printers from the *Gazette* were hired by the *Journal*. The *Journal* relied greatly on sensationalism, exposés, contests, and other promotional stunts to woo readers from the *Gazette*.

The old *Gazette* continued to operate with non-union printers. It was attacked daily in the *Journal*. It suffered badly from an advertisers' boycott and its circulation slipped from 20,000 to less than 8,000. The *Journal* climbed to 11,000.

When the strike was settled, eight months later, the *Gazette* began slowly to regain circulation and advertising, but it was in serious financial straits. Loeb made several offers to buy it in 1958 but the *Gazette* owners preferred not to sell to the man "who had taken advantage of the paper's distress by starting the *Journal* while the strike was in progress"\* according to testimony in the widely reported law suit the following year.

A group of New England publishers formed a corporation called Newspapers of New England, Inc. in December, 1958, and purchased the *Haverhill Gazette*. Loeb brought a \$4,500,000 anti-trust suit against the new corporation and the *Gazette*, charging them with conspiring to force the *Journal* out of business and to set up a monopoly. The *Gazette*'s new owners entered a counter-suit and claimed \$3,000,000 damages.

When the case came before Federal Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., in Boston in November, 1959, William Loeb was called to the witness stand. He admitted having made an agreement with eight Haverhill merchants, former advertisers in the *Gazette*, under which they were to receive a guaranteed annual minimum payment of \$5,000 apiece for the first ten years and \$7,500 annually for the second ten years "if and when the *Haverhill Journal* or any newspaper controlled by Loeb became the sole daily newspaper in Haverhill." The merchants agreed to give the Loeb paper long-term support and "to carry out promotional assignments." Loeb also testified that he had, in the meantime, been paying each merchant \$50 a week "to check slackening enthusiasm" and "in some cases, he conceded, he paid

\*Quotations in this section are from Boston newspaper stories about the antitrust suit.

as much or more over a six month period than he got back in advertising." Loeb says, today, that neither he nor his then-counsel believed the agreement violated the antitrust laws.

The *Gazette* did not emerge with totally clean hands. The trial revealed that the paper had tried to win back some of its lost advertising by "secret discriminating practices." Instead of revising rates publicly, the *Gazette* entered into separate agreements with local display advertisers.

The judge found no monopolistic intent on the part of the Newspapers of New England, Inc., but he held both the Union Leader Corp. and the *Haverhill Gazette* liable to damages for discriminating advertising practices. Both were ordered to conform to publicly announced rate schedules. Loeb was enjoined from making further payments to Haverhill merchants and he was found guilty of violating the antitrust laws.

Five years of legal gyrations followed. On April 30, 1965, the Union Leader Corporation agreed, in a settlement out of court, to pay the *Gazette* \$1,250,000. One month later, Loeb closed the *Haverhill Journal*.

It was an open secret that Loeb was now in deep financial trouble. He estimates his losses to have been nearly \$6,000,000. Rumors were current that he might have to dispose of his Manchester newspapers. It was known but not widely publicized that the Teamsters Union had helped Loeb out with a loan in May, 1963. The *Manchester Free Press*, a small (now extinct) weekly, carried the story at that time.

Two months after the 1965 settlement, the Teamsters Union Pension Fund came once more to Loeb's rescue — this time with \$2,200,000. The *Concord Monitor* carried a story on the deed mortgaging the Union Leader Corporation and its assets. In June, 1965, the stockholders had authorized Loeb to pay off a first mortgage held by the Bank of New York, (trustees for the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company), and a second mortgage of \$420,000 and accrued interest held by the trustees of the Central States, Southeast and Southwest Pension Fund (Teamsters Union) — the 1963 loan.

The terms of the mortgage, registered in the Hillsboro County Registry of Deeds, require the

Three characteristic Union Leader front pages: Top, February 3, 1966, with pro-Hoffa editorial; middle, April 1, 1966, with story at top on Loeb-backed candidate; bottom, April 2, 1966, with lead story on major Loeb campaign

**Wyman Seeks Old Seat in Congress**

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

**DEFER INSTITUTE DECISION**

**Barry Quits Welfare Post**

**Pease Gets BSZs In Early Spring**

**Adjo GOP Now For 1st District**

**US Wins UN Bid For Viet Debate**

**B-52s Join in Pursuit Of Floating Viet Cong**

**Blowing Engines Again in India**

**US Marines Guard Prison On Viet Front**

**Expert Health Chief To Seek Governorship**

**Father Says Plaintiffs In Ruggins Case 'Loaf'**

**UN Seeks New**

**Council Tables Move By 3-2 Vote To Post Clarvont Arms Sale**

**Producers Arrest Women Who 'Punked' Break**

**Gen. Thng Closes Out Military Career**

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

**BLAST WRECKS U.S. BILLET**

**Cong Units Flee Inside Cambodia**

**Saigon Bombing Kills 5 Officers, Wounds 66; Many Civilians Injured**

**Refugee Plan By UN**

**Weekend Reminder**

**Worship at the Church of Your Choice**

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

**SHELVES MILK PRICING BAN**

**Hit Red Terrorists From Land, Air, Sea**

**Supreme Court Stays Order Ending Controls To Allow for Appeals**

**Let Conditions For Settlement Of Red Strike**

**Patriotic Reaction**

**Anti-American**



Union Leader Corporation to submit financial reports every six months, and to meet its 6½ per cent interest payments within fifteen days of due date for the twenty years the loan runs. Should Loeb default, the Teamsters may acquire the land, building, and presses as well as up-to-date lists of customers and routes. Loeb and all other corporation officers are proscribed from publishing any newspaper in the area for five years.

Because James Hoffa, a trustee of the pension fund, was then under indictment, and much in the news, it seemed surprising that neither the AP nor the UPI considered the *Concord Monitor* story sufficiently newsworthy to report. Nor was much attention paid to it elsewhere in New Hampshire at that time.

The Teamsters' first loan to Loeb was made on May 9, 1963. On May 10, every New England daily gave front page space to Hoffa's indictment for allegedly bribing jurors in his trial for mail fraud — every paper, that is, except the *Union Leader*, which put the story on page 7.

On May 13, 1963, a signed Loeb editorial appeared on the front page of the *Union Leader* describing Hoffa as misunderstood, the Justice Department as a clandestine gestapo, and President Kennedy as a dictator, ending: "The fight of James Hoffa against the Kennedys is becoming the fight of all Americans who want to stay free men and women."

A month later, another Loeb-signed front page editorial entitled "Closer to Dictatorship — It Could Be YOU!" carried a picture of Hoffa and charged the government with violating Hoffa's constitutional rights to speedy trial by an impartial jury. The Kennedys, said Loeb, were plotting to smear and discredit Hoffa by a series of groundless indictments. The June 7 editorial said:

Obviously, the purpose behind all this is to try to break the spirit of the one labor leader in the United States who will not knuckle under to Mr. Kennedy. The scheme apparently is to try to keep Mr. Hoffa constantly under indictment for the purpose of making it difficult for him to conduct his normal everyday union affairs and, secondly, to create in the minds of the public the idea that he is some sort of monster. . . . Never before, until the Kennedy boys were bought

the White House by their father, did things like this happen in the United States. . . . It's pretty hard on Mr. Hoffa, but the Kennedys' constant attacks on him do illustrate better than in any other fashion the arrogance and the dictatorial nature of the Kennedy kids. . . .

Loeb's campaign to convince his readers of Hoffa's innocence has continued unabated. In November, 1965, eight columns were reprinted from the *Congressional Record* to corroborate a front-page editorial called "The Great Frame-Up." (In the reprint, Representatives Gray, Dent, O'Konski, and Ellsworth called attention to the criminal record of a government witness at Hoffa's Chattanooga trial.)

Twice in January, 1966, Hoffa was the subject of laudatory editorials. The first, on January 13, carried Hoffa's picture on the front page, and, on the turn-over, Michael Quill's:

James Riddle Hoffa, President of the Teamsters' Union and with far more power than Mike Quill, never cripples a city or a nation by a Teamsters' strike and yet he is called a bad man, and magazines, newspapers and politicians heap insult on his head.

Hoffa appeared on the front page again on January 31 when Loeb editorialized in favor of repeal of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator Dirksen and the Republican Party were castigated for "proving to every working man and woman in the United States that the Republican Party is anti-union and the working man's enemy." The next two paragraphs:

Of course this is exactly the trap which the Texas fox from the shores of the Perdenales [sic] River laid for the Republicans and they fell over each other, rushing to get right in there and take the bait.

President Johnson, as James Riddle Hoffa, president of the Teamsters, said in a speech in Boston last fall, has not the slightest REAL intention of fighting for the repeal of 14-B.

If Loeb's relation to Hoffa has excited little public interest, he gets positive reactions to many of his other editorials. What pleases about 25 per cent of New Hampshire's voters and outrages



others are Loeb's attacks on those with whom he disagrees, and his determination to influence New Hampshire's selection of men for public office. Loeb has contempt for what he regards as the wishy-washy character of most newspapers today, and for the caliber of men in the state's Republican Party. He insists that his papers try not to slant the news. The record suggests, however, that selection of political news hews close to Loeb's editorial lines.

In 1962, Loeb's candidate for Congress from one of the state's two districts was Stacey Cole, a farm expert, widely known in the state through his daily broadcasts and weekly columns in the *Union Leader*. He and five others were defeated in the primary by a young lawyer and state senator, James Cleveland. The tone of the *Union Leader* coverage of the campaign was set by this signed Loeb editorial:

Voters in the 2nd Congressional District who are leaning towards State Sen. James Cleveland should not forget two very important things about him.

One is that, as a lawyer, he defended Hugo DeGregory, of Hudson, an accused Communist Party official. . . .

Next, the voters must not forget, as God-fearing men and women, that Cleveland thinks the recent Supreme Court decision, barring the saying of a prayer in public schools, is correct.

Seven New Hampshire papers and one in Vermont rallied to Cleveland's support. The Brattleboro (Vermont) *Daily Reformer*, published just across the Connecticut River from Cleveland's district, commented editorially:

N.H. State Senator James Cleveland . . . must be fully qualified for that office or else he wouldn't be under such a relentless smear attack from the Loeb newspapers in Manchester. . . . Otherwise, Loeb wouldn't bother with him — because Bill Loeb has the capacity for spotting a good man. He has to, in order to try to destroy him.

Cleveland is running for his third term in Congress in 1966.

The 1964 primary offers a good example of the way in which Loeb and the *Union Leader* enter

major political campaigns. Rockefeller and Goldwater were obvious contenders for the Republican nomination as early as 1963. Before either had declared, the *Union Leader* political reporter and columnist, D. Frank O'Neil, wrote a series, datelined Albany, entitled "Report from Rocky's Backyard," from which even the least astute reader could conclude that the New York governor would not be Loeb's choice for President.

Rockefeller's divorce and re-marriage were mentioned, unfavorably, both in the O'Neil column and editorially. When reminded by a reader that his own marital record was not dissimilar (in fact, Loeb had been sued for alienation of affection by Nacey Scripps Gallowhur's husband before she and Loeb were each divorced and later married to each other) Loeb's reply was that *he* was not running for office and Rockefeller was.

Senator Goldwater announced his candidacy on January 3, the day Rockefeller began a tour of New Hampshire. The Loeb banner headlines that week were:

CHOICE, NOT ECHO, BARRY

IS ROCKY A DEMOCRAT?

DWINELL BACKS BARRY [Lane Dwinell, a former governor]

BARRY FLIES TO N.H. TODAY

BARRY SEES VICTORY IN N.H.

CROWDS SURPRISE BARRY

BARRY ENDS 3 DAY SWING

All told, during January, Goldwater was given 68½ columns of front page headline space to Rockefeller's 7 columns. The 79 columns inside the paper given to Rockefeller news were, in one way or another, derogatory. Inside the paper, Goldwater got 694 column inches compared with 252 for Rockefeller. Goldwater pictures covered 214 column inches of front page space to 44 inches allotted Rockefeller.

The University of New Hampshire (often the subject of Loeb criticism) commented in a study of the 1964 primary:

After months of using prime news space to support a losing candidate, it is understandable that William Loeb would say of the winner, Henry Cabot Lodge, on March 11: "[N.H.] voters have thrown away their

votes for the biggest phony in political life in the United States today."

Loeb's invective is reserved for those whom he believes to be the enemies of American republicanism and justice. It is not hard to meet the qualifications. His bitterest venom has been directed against the Kennedys. "When we have Kennedy for President," he wrote at one time, "who needs Khrushchev for an enemy?" He called Truman "the little dictator," Sherman Adams "Sherm the Worm," and Senator Margaret Chase Smith "Moscow Maggie."

Perhaps the most widely quoted bit of invective from Loeb's typewriter was hurled at President Eisenhower. The death of Senator McCarthy inspired a front page editorial titled "Murdered." Among those he cited as responsible for the senator's death (in addition to the Communists) were many notables, and he added:

Finally we come to that stinking hypocrite in the White House who recently became so small that he asked every other Senator and representative to his reception except Joe McCarthy.

On another occasion he referred to Eisenhower as "dopey Dwight."

When the *Union Leader* deals with non-political news, the reporting is reasonably full and fair. A competing New Hampshire editor who has often felt the lash of Loeb's editorial tongue confesses to admiring the paper for its vigor, its coverage of state news, and its high standard of technical performance. It is a lively paper. Its front page compares favorably with those of metropolitan papers in the number of international and national news stories on any given day.

The paper carries a multitude of local and syndicated features and columnists. The editorial page has an average of four editorials (in addition to Loeb's front-page essay), frequently one from another newspaper. The masthead quotes Daniel Webster ("There is Nothing So Powerful as the Truth") and the Bible ("Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty"). The printing trades union "bug" is prominent. Five days a week there is an additional Biblical quotation over the first editorial. Once a week the entire page is given over to readers' letters, frequently contribu-

tions from Southern admirers but also ones critical of Loeb and his views.

The syndicated columnists most frequently used are Constantine Brown, Clarence Manion, William F. Buckley, Jr., David Lawrence, John J. Synon, and Herbert Philbrick. From time to time, Southern segregationist editors are featured. Special emphasis is given to selected columns by larger type and liberal use of bold face.

The *Union Leader* and the *Sunday News* are readable papers, with a healthy amount of advertising and every prospect of continuing to be a highly profitable enterprise. Unless Loeb embarks on another costly adventure of the Haverhill kind, there is no reason to believe that the Teamsters' Union will need to foreclose on its mortgage. Even if he wanted to sell, which he insists he does not, the profit-sharing plan and the probable price of the property would discourage most prospective buyers.

The Democrats have made inroads but New Hampshiremen tend to be conservative and Republican, and Loeb finds approving readers in many areas of the State. The strongly Roman Catholic city of Manchester, with a sizable French minority, and the northern county adjacent to French Canada are more receptive to his views than the southwestern part, where liberal dailies like the *Valley News* (Hanover and Lebanon) and the *Keene Evening Sentinel* circulate. Portsmouth has a vigorous paper, *The Herald*, with the second largest circulation in the State (only a third of the *Union Leader's*). The *Concord Monitor* and *New Hampshire Patriot*, third in size, should logically be the state newspaper, or at least offer the *Union Leader* greater competition. It is old, trustworthy, and moderate, but it lacks morning editions and a crusading spirit.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that this tiger with a paper is not as dangerous as his critics allege. His record of political victories is unimpressive. Those who have done battle with him may be scarred but more than a few won out. What New Hampshire needs, if it doesn't like William Loeb and his newspapers, is a dynamic, crusading, and wealthy publisher, and more Republican office-seekers who prefer to do battle rather than to give ground.

First Quarter, 1966:

## TV'S MONTH OF TUMULT

What happened in American television in February, 1966, may very well be looked on in the future as pivotal. But the direction of the swing is not yet entirely clear. On the face of it, it would appear that the month's storms showed that a major network had yielded to the corporate pressure for large audiences and routine, palatable programming, and had dropped out of news competition. Yet it can be argued, too, that what took place was the action of a rear guard, ringing the final changes on "business as usual" in a day when the needs and demands of broadcast journalism are urgent and increasingly answered.

It is too soon to offer either of these suggestions as definitive. Instead, last February can be looked at as a time of intense competition and conflict, in which television again took part in (as *Newsweek* called it) "an authentic national event" — the transmission and stimulation of the American debate over Viet Nam.

Properly speaking, the February cycle of news began on the final day of January, when President Johnson announced the beginning of a new phase in the Viet Nam war. Bombing of North Viet Nam, suspended for thirty-seven days, was resumed; at the same time, the United States asked the United Nations Security Council to assist in seeking a peaceful settlement.

The Security Council met the following day, February 1, but commercial radio and television carried only patches of the debate. Thus they touched off Jack Gould, television critic of *The New York Times*, who has made almost an

avocation of criticizing the lack of broadcast UN coverage. Gould pointed out that most American listeners and viewers were able to hear less of the proceedings than were people overseas, who could pick up the full proceedings via Voice of America facilities. Moreover, the most solid summary of the day, produced by CBS, was blacked out by its showcase station in New York, WCBS-TV.

The networks did not need the error of their ways pointed out further. The next day, all three carried live portions of the Security Council proceedings, when a narrow vote placed the United States proposal on the council agenda.

On February 3, Val Adams of the *Times* reported that all three networks would "escalate" (as he put it) their coverage of the crisis. The details were not revealed, except by ABC, which said it would devote its weekly documentary, *ABC Scope*, entirely to the war. The other two networks appeared to be making statements to pacify the *Times*.

On Friday, February 4, CBS and NBC began live coverage of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Viet Nam, devoting four hours in the morning and two in the afternoon to the testimony of David Bell, administrator of the Agency for International Development. The next morning, Gould scolded the networks for not having given similar coverage to the appearance, on January 18, of the Secretary of State, but was otherwise enthusiastic. "In effect," he wrote, "the debate over Vietnam has now begun and television will enable the mass audience to be an

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eyewitness." ABC carried two half-hour excerpts.

Gould might have added that there had been no such military-foreign policy debate since the return of General MacArthur in 1951, and that one had not been on television. Such an opportunity was rare and historic. This debate, moreover, was taking place in an intensified air of crisis of the kind that in the past had increased the public intake of information. Viet Nam, of course, was hardly a fresh topic; it had hung ominously and increasingly large on the public horizon for a dozen years. What was new was the arena — the opportunity for expanded exploration of the subject.

During the February 4 testimony, however, it became clear that the public would not be able to focus its attention on this single arena. At 3:15 p.m., CBS broke into its coverage of Bell's testimony to announce that President Johnson would meet South Vietnamese leaders in Hawaii. The next morning, the President departed, followed by the task forces the networks had assembled in eighteen hours. Thereafter, the week end was spotted with delayed reports from Honolulu.

Meanwhile, the trade press was occupying itself with another area of concern. On January 28, Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, had responded vigorously to criticism of his network's war coverage. The occasion was a speech to the Soap and Detergent Association, but the intent was obviously to lecture officials. "There are those," he said, "including some in our government, who would like only the good news reported. Threats of reprisal, of making a difficult job all but impossible, have not been unknown." To a casual listener it must have appeared that the president of CBS was backing the news division to the full.

The Senate hearings resumed on February 8 with the testimony of Lieutenant General James M. Gavin. CBS and NBC were again on the air

throughout the session, then carried their competition into the evening with live coverage of the return of President Johnson to the mainland from Honolulu. During the broadcast day, NBC News clocked 6 hours and 47 minutes of Viet Nam coverage over a span of fifteen hours, and CBS logged a similar total. The next day, *Variety*, in its characteristic inside-dope idiom, attributed the rate of coverage less to an onrush of public spiritedness than to a "vanity reflex." It said the clamor for increased coverage was coming less from the public or Washington than from Jack Gould and its own columns. It also, significantly, reported "wails" from the sales and program divisions of the networks over the hearings.

Nor were the only wails from inside; a few out-of-town newspaper television reviewers moaned, too. Frank Judge of *The Detroit News* wrote that the networks were apparently working "on the premise that if you don't know how to edit, you cover everything and thus won't miss anything." Bob Tweedell of *The Denver Post* approved of the coverage of the hearings but was critical of the long periods of inactivity during coverage of the President's arrival in Los Angeles. In any case, for a week and a half television journalism, at least on NBC and CBS, had held the upper hand. It had logged many live hours and had used apparently unrestricted facilities. But it was about to be rebuffed.

On February 9, the CBS board of directors met. Afterward, Dr. Stanton announced the creation of a new position: group vice-president, broadcasting. It appeared to be designed specifically for its first occupant, John A. Schneider, the young station manager who had succeeded the legendary James T. Aubrey as president of CBS television in March, 1965. In effect, the promotion put Schneider in line to be Dr. Stanton's successor, and, more important, placed him between Dr. Stanton and executives below.

By the next day, the prophecy of a clash had appeared in print. Jack Gould's page-one story in the *Times* noted simply that "there were rumors that not all division personnel were pleased over the new chain of command." But Tom Mackin, in the *Newark Evening News*, was more explicit: "Insiders forecast a clash when



But the case for continuing with the hearings seemed just as logical. The witness was one of the two or three most notable names among policymakers not now in government. Moreover, CBS had shown every sign of trying to match NBC's

The main focus of the news stories was on the personalities; it was Friendly, associate of the late Edward R. Murrow, against Schneider. CBS had contrived once more to fight out its internal battles in the newspapers, as it had when Walter Cronkite had been replaced (by Friendly, reportedly under pressure by network executives) as anchor man in the 1964 Democratic convention coverage.

## Friendly outshone Fulbright in World-Telegram



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and, six months later, when Aubrey had been ousted with little warning.

Conflict in television was too big for the television pages; newspaper editors found it general news. Thus, paradoxically, the Fulbright hearings had news competition not only from the White House but from one of the media covering them.

That week end, there was an indication that other television executives felt as Schneider did. NBC announced a two-hour wrap-up of the hearings to date for Sunday afternoon. Because the live hearings had simply been substituted without warning for prior network programming, almost all local stations had carried them, for lack of other material. But they had at least four days' warning on the summary version and more than half of them refused to carry it — including a few that had failed to carry the live broadcasts.

Over the week end, the CBS pressure cooker continued to build up steam, and on Tuesday, February 15, the five-day rumor became fact: Fred Friendly resigned. Meanwhile, he made public his letter to Dr. Stanton and Mr. Paley, of which the key paragraph was: "I am resigning because CBS News did not carry the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings last Thursday, when former Ambassador George Kennan testified on Vietnam. It was the considered news judgment of every executive in CND [CBS News Division] that we carry these Vietnam hearings as we had those of the other witnesses. I am convinced that the decision not to carry them was a business, not a news, judgment." It could have been put another way: that it was a news judgment made outside the news division.

With that, Friendly bade farewell to the CND staffs in New York and Washington, and did not return. Sixteen news producers sent a telegram to CBS management asking for a reconciliation, but there was never a serious possibility of one.

One of the first responses among journalists came early that evening in the broadcast comment of Edward P. Morgan on ABC. After

### Friendly's letter

Excerpts from Fred W. Friendly's letter of resignation as president of CBS News, addressed to William S. Paley, chairman, and Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS:

Dear Bill and Frank:

This is the third time since last Thursday that I have asked you to accept my resignation as President of CBS News, and this time you have an obligation to accept it.

It is important that you and my colleagues in the News Division know that I am not motivated by pique or change of status in a table of organization, or lack of respect for Jack Schneider. He is, as you have both recalled, someone I had asked to join the News Division in an administrative role more than a year ago, when he was Station Manager of WCAU-TV.

I am resigning because CBS News did not carry the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings last Thursday, when former Ambassador George Kennan testified on Vietnam. It was the considered news judgment of every executive in CND [CBS News Division] that we carry these Vietnam hearings as we had those of the other witnesses. I am convinced that the decision not to carry them was a business, not a news, judgment.

I am resigning because the decision not to carry the hearings makes a mockery of the Paley-Stanton CND crusade of many years that demands broadest access to Congressional debate. Only last year, in a most eloquent letter, you petitioned the Chief Justice for the right to televise live sessions of the Supreme Court. We cannot, in our public utterances, demand such access and then, in one of the crucial debates of our time, abdicate that responsibility. What happens to that sense of fairness and balance so close to both of you, when one day's hearings, and perhaps the most comprehensive, are omitted? How can we return on Thursday and Friday of this week without denying Schneider's argument that "the housewife isn't interested"? Why were NBC's housewives interested? What would have happened to those housewives if the Supreme Court had said "Yes" to your plea for live coverage? Where would broadcast journalism have been last Thursday if NBC had elected not to carry the U.S. Senate hearings on the war?

When last Thursday morning at ten o'clock

I looked at the monitors in my office and saw the hearings on Channel 4 (pool production, by the way, via CBS News crews) and saw a fifth rerun of "Lucy," then followed by an eighth rerun of "The Real McCoys," I wanted to order up an announcement that said: "Due to circumstances beyond our control the broadcast originally intended for this time will not be seen." It was not within CND's control because the journalistic judgment had been by a sudden organizational act transferred to a single executive. Mr. Schneider, because of his absolute power, would have more authority than William Paley or Frank Stanton have exercised in the past two years. This, in spite of the fact that Mr. Schneider's news credentials were limited in the past to local station operations, with little experience in national or international affairs.

The concept of an autonomous news organization responsible only to the Chairman and the President was not a creation of mine. It is a concept almost as old as CBS News, and is a tradition nurtured by the Ed Klaubers, the Ed Murrows, the Paul Whites, and rigidly enforced by both of you. The dramatic change in that concept is, to my mind and that of my colleagues, a form of emasculation.

Actually, it is the second step of the emasculation that began when CBS News was shorn of its responsibility in the news operation at WCBS-TV here in New York. Had I been in my current position at the time of this change, I should have resisted it as I do the current weakening. It denied CBS News a highly professional outlet in New York, a competitive position with the other networks, and the training apparatus for the Sevareids, the Cronkites, the Reasoners of the future.

My departure is a matter of conscience. At the end of the day it is the viewer and the listener who have the biggest stake in all this. Perhaps my action will be understood by them. I know it will be understood by my colleagues in news and I know Ed Murrow would have understood. A speech he delivered to the Radio Television News Directors Association in 1958 spelled it all out:

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising, and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles: The top management of the networks, with a few

notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales, or show business. But, by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs.

Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this. It is not easy for the same small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars, build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new Western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the latest Congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covey or clutch of vice presidents and, at the same time—frequently on the same long day—to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs . . .

Such a day was last Thursday when a non-news judgment was made on the Kennan broadcast. . . .

In that speech Ed also said:

There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse.

I now leave CBS News convinced that the last two years have shown some improvement and convinced, ironically, that my leaving will help insure the integrity and independence of the news operation. I believe that the Senate hearings next Thursday and Friday will be televised live because of circumstances within the control of the man you choose to succeed me. For the kind of news executive who would warrant the trust of the two recipients of this letter would insist upon such a mandate. Senator George Norris, quoted in John F. Kennedy's "Profiles in Courage" says, "Whatever use I have been has been accomplished in the things I *failed* to do rather than in the things I actually did do."

I now leave CBS News after 16 years, believing that the finest broadcast journalists anywhere will yet have the kind of leadership they deserve. I know that I take with me their respect and affection as, indeed, I hope I do yours.

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noting, first, that his own network had been criticized for insufficient performance, Morgan said: "Broadcasting has far more of a responsibility to the public than pandering to the widest common denominator of its tastes for profit. It is no defense to argue that special programs of information are a burden on the budget... It is no defense, either, to argue that 'nobody looks or listens' to such programs as a Congressional hearing. There is always an audience and because it is small does not mean that it is not important. The opposite may often be the case." At almost the same hour, CBS news broadcasts were announcing Friendly's resignation, but with only a bare indication of the issue that had made him quit.

On the next day, CBS announced that it would carry live on Thursday, February 17, the testimony of General Maxwell D. Taylor, and on Friday, the testimony of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, not to mention an hour-long special broadcast in prime time on Friday evening. Friendly had predicted, in the next to last paragraph of his letter, that it would happen that way.

On February 16, Schneider made a personal appearance before CBS news staffers in the news building on 57th Street, to announce that the acting president of CBS News would be Richard S. Salant, whom Friendly had replaced in 1964. (Salant was named president of CBS News on April 5, the same day that it was announced that Friendly had accepted positions with the Ford Foundation and the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism.)

The most authoritative word on the decision that led to Friendly's resignation was contained in a letter that Dr. Stanton wrote to an inquiring listener, then reprinted in a periodic newsletter sent to CBS employees. Although the newsletter announced the entire range of new CBS appointments, the departed news chief was simply mentioned as a "Mr. Friendly" who had resigned over the Kennan decision, and not otherwise identified.

Aubrey had been snubbed similarly in 1965.

On February 11 the hearings entered their final phase. Both CBS and NBC were on hand for the testimony of General Taylor, and even ABC joined in on Friday for the re-appearance of Dean Rusk. His testimony closed the debate for the commercial networks, which returned to more selective news coverage in the next phase, a parade of China experts during March. However, they offered tape of the hearings to non-commercial channels. And late in April ABC and NBC offered live coverage of a new round of Viet Nam hearings. CBS announced the kind of capsulized coverage recommended in February by Schneider.

It was impossible to measure whether there had been any great net gain in public knowledge of Viet Nam from the three weeks of stepped-up coverage. The *New York World-Telegram* carried a page-one story to the effect unnamed Senate insiders believed the television coverage had had a "terrific impact" on the country. David Wise, Washington bureau chief of the *New York Herald Tribune*, saw profound effects also. He compared the hearings in dramatic value to the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. They were, he wrote, "much more than sheer entertainment. For they grappled with great national questions and brought them out into the open... for the public to see and judge."

Thus ended the month of television's most assiduous efforts to tell the American public about Viet Nam. The networks had earned varying marks: NBC had stuck with the live news events, consistently and unsparingly. ABC had counted itself out of full-scale coverage at the beginning, only to join in at the last minute with an effort that could hardly have given the full range of the debate. CBS, in essence, simply missed one day, but was otherwise abreast of NBC.

It is hard to see that any public purpose was served by that inconsistent decision to wash out a day's hearings; it merely assured that the CBS effort, worthy in other respects, was blackened. However, if it increased by any degree the public's awareness of what it can require of television, a good cause may have been served.

JAMES BOYLAN

## Dr. Stanton's letter

Excerpts from a letter from Dr. Frank Stanton to a viewer, which was printed in Dr. Stanton's newsletter to CBS employees, dated February 28:

Seven weeks before they commenced, CBS urged the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to permit live television coverage of the hearings on Vietnam that were the subject of the controversy that prompted your letter. We were aware that the hearings would constitute, on the whole, a valuable forum for enlightening the American people on our involvement in Vietnam, the forces that brought it about, and the implications to which it gives rise. On January 30, five days before the hearings opened, the CBS Television Network preempted an hour and a half for a special report, "Vietnam Perspective: The Congress and the War," presented live from Washington and marking the first major use of coast-to-coast television by Congressional leaders to deliberate publicly America's conduct of the war. The CBS Television Network, thereafter, broadcast, in their entirety, the testimony of David Bell, Director of the Agency for International Development (7 hours, 12 minutes), General Gavin (5 hours, 11 minutes), who had gained widespread attention for his views on our military policy in Vietnam, General Taylor (6 hours, 33 minutes), military advisor to the President, who defended it, and of the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk (6 hours, 3 minutes). In addition, the CBS Television Network preempted two hours of prime time for special reports summarizing and analyzing the hearings and their background, 10-11 PM, February 8 and 18.

The CBS Group Vice President, Broadcasting, John A. Schneider, made an administrative decision not to broadcast live, on the CBS Television Network, the full testimony of another witness, Professor George Kennan (6 hours), a former ambassador to the Soviet Union. CBS News did keep its crews and equipment at the hearings and, in accordance with a prior agreement with the other network news organizations, originated the coverage which was carried by NBC. Mr. Friendly disagreed with the decision not to broadcast the Kennan testimony in its entirety on CBS and insisted upon our accepting his resignation.

The decision not to broadcast Professor Kennan's testimony in full may seem to you the wrong one. But it was neither a cynical

nor an impulsive one. Decisions of this kind in broadcasting often have to be made before the full impact of the event is known. They must also be made in a context that cannot always be wholly clear to the public. Factors governing such decisions include the television viewing habits of the public, the newsworthiness of the event concerned, and of the participants in it, the likelihood of time having to be made available for more significant future phases of the same event, the possibility of the specific matter of the broadcast's being handled with more meaning to more people in a later news broadcast or special summary, the announced intention of other broadcasting organizations to cover the event in its entirety, and other considerations.

Among the latter — but of no more weight than any other factor — is the necessity to maintain a sound and viable economy within the company. The cost of maintaining television and radio news organizations is enormous, and the major part of it must be borne by income from entertainment programming. The specific cost incurred by the CBS Television Network in covering the four days of the Vietnam hearings, for example, amounted to just under \$1 million, and the loss in income for the stations which make up the Network is estimated to be over \$1 million, in addition. Obviously, since CBS News cannot be self-supporting, we must pay some attention to the economics of broadcasting in making decisions involving such costs.

With regard to the Vietnam hearings, it was CBS's conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that the testimony of Professor Kennan, who had not been recently and prominently associated, as General Gavin had been, with criticism of U.S. policy and who holds no official position, as do Director Bell, General Taylor and Secretary Rusk, would not be of sufficiently general public interest or of sufficiently determining significance to justify preempting the some six hours of television time necessary to broadcast it in its entirety...

I hope that, while you may fault us on a decision with which you may not agree, you will consider our overall coverage of the Vietnam war and our overall record in electronic journalism. I hope, too, that you will reserve judgment until you have seen our future contributions to public knowledge and understanding of the war and of all other significant news developments. I can, in return, assure you that CBS News has no intention of relinquishing its position of leadership in its field...



## A second look:

# Local blackouts of network television

Four years ago, in its first regular issue, the *Review* published a study of the use of network public-affairs programs by local television stations — what programs were stations carrying and what programs they refused. The study, which covered fourteen programs broadcast by the three major networks, showed that stations were declining roughly a quarter of the public affairs programs offered to them, with wide variations from program to program and from station to station.

In 1963, the Federal Communications Commission abolished "option time," the contractual arrangement that permitted networks to use local air time on request during specified time periods. A result of such a change could be, logically, a greater resistance by local stations to use of small-audience, often unsponsored programs — in other words, public affairs programs.

A study at the end of 1965 by the Freedom of Information center at the University of Missouri found no great upheaval in general network programming after two years without option time. But to find out whether the situation has also been stable in news and public affairs, the *Review* again requested clearance (availability of

air time) information from the three networks.

A major sequence of public affairs programming was taking place in mid-February — the broadcast of the hearings on Viet Nam by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and other special programs related to the crisis. The *Review* asked for information for the period of February 10-18, which embraced not only major testimony before the committee but the President's trip to Honolulu to meet the South Vietnamese premier. The urgency of the events of that period would apparently work toward high acceptance of programs dealing with that crisis. At the same time, CBS complicated the picture by canceling its coverage of one day's hearings — the incident that caused the resignation of Fred W. Friendly.

What do the 1966 charts show? The maps reproduced on the pages following attempt to show the stations' use of programs dealing with Viet Nam and their more permanent base of public affairs programming.

The crude percentages remain much as they were in 1962 — a rejection rate of approximately 30 per cent, as opposed to 25 per cent in 1962. The programs studied, however, are not strictly comparable; for one thing, the amount of regularly scheduled public affairs offered by the networks has declined somewhat in four years.

In all, the networks submitted information in 1966 on thirteen special and fourteen regularly scheduled programs. In a few of these, clearances presented no problem. As a rule, the full-scale

STATIONS and principal owners using all news and public affairs offered (excluding network-owned stations):

#### ABC AFFILIATES:

KBMT Beaumont, Tex (Reed-Williams)  
WLOX-TV Biloxi, Miss (J. S. Love Jr)  
WBJA-TV Binghamton, NY (Anscombe)  
KCRG-TV Cedar Rapids (CR Gazette)  
WOLO-TV Columbia, SC (Bahakel)  
WDIO-TV Duluth (WMT-TV, others)  
KTHI-TV Fargo, ND (Polaris)  
KJEO Fresno (Geo. C. Fiehart)  
KAIT-TV Jonesboro Ark (Hernreich)  
KHOL-TV Kearney Neb (Bi-States)  
WTVK Knoxville (S. Central Bcstg)  
KATC Lafayette La (Acadian TV)  
KSWO-TV Lawton Okla (R. H. Drewry)  
WLVA-TV Lynchburg Va (Wash. Star)  
WNBE-TV New Bern NC (Frank-Thoms)

KTVK Phoenix (E. W. McFarland)  
KATU Portland Ore (Fisher's Blend)  
WTEV New Bedford (Standard-Times)  
KOMO-TV Seattle (Fisher's Blend)  
KTBS-TV Shreveport (Wray family)  
WATR Waterbury Conn (Thomas)

#### CBS AFFILIATES:

WHDH-TV Boston (Herald-Traveler)  
KFVS-TV Cape Girardeau (Hirsch)  
KKTU Colo Springs (Stauffer Pubs)  
KRLD-TV Dallas (Times-Herald)  
WINK-TV Ft. Myers Fla (McBride)  
WFMY-TV Greensboro NC (Norfolk Newsp)  
WFAM-TV Lafayette Ind (Tarzian)  
WJIM-TV Lansing (Gross)  
WTAR-TV Norfolk (Norfolk Newsp)  
WDBO-TV Orlando (Outlet Co)  
WTVR Richmond (Roy H. Park)  
WKNX-TV Saginaw Mich (L. Huron)  
KPIX San Francisco (Westinghouse)  
WSBA York Pa (Susquehanna)

#### NBC AFFILIATES:

WINR-TV Binghamton (Gannett)  
KOAA-TV Colo Springs (Metropolitan)  
KRIS-TV Corpus Christi (T. F. Smith)  
WESH-TV Daytona Beach (J. H. Perry Jr)  
WMSL-TV Decatur Ala. (Whisenant)  
KOA-TV Denver (Metropolitan)  
WDSM-TV Duluth (Ridder Pubs)  
WOWL-TV Florence Ala (R. B. Biddle)  
WHNB-TV Hartford (Balaban)  
WATE-TV Knoxville (Nationwide)  
WALA-TV Mobile (Royal St Corp)  
WDSU New Orleans (Royal St Corp)  
KCRL Reno (E. L. Cord)  
WRVA-TV Richmond (Larus & Bros)  
KSD-TV St. Louis (Pulitzer)  
KRON-TV San Francisco (Chronicle)  
KING-TV Seattle (King Bcst.)  
WSJS-TV Winston Salem (Piedmont)  
KNDO Yakima Wash (H.E. Davis)  
WFMJ-TV Youngstown (Vindicator)



coverage of the Senate hearings was simply fed to all stations scheduled to receive other network programs during the same hours.

However, ABC encountered difficulties with its two daily half-hour summaries on February 10 and 17. More than a third of the stations to which the summaries were offered failed to clear air time for one or the other. Likewise, when NBC offered a summary of hearings on Sunday afternoon in time with no normally scheduled network service, nearly three-quarters of its stations rejected the program. A CBS wrap-up on the evening of February 18, substituting for a not-too-popular dramatic program (*The Trials of O'Brien*) was turned down by more than half of the network's stations. In fact, the pattern was rather clear: When stations were given an opportunity to reject material on Viet Nam, they did so in substantial numbers.

By contrast, there is almost total acceptance of the networks' fully sponsored major Monday-Friday news shows. NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* has a total of 197 stations of a possible maximum of 203. Walter Cronkite's *CBS Evening News* has 180 stations, and a percentage nearly as high. ABC's Peter Jennings runs into the chronic problem of that network — that it has always had fewer exclusive affiliates than the other two — and has 126 stations. In forty-eight other areas

Jennings loses out to Huntley-Brinkley or Cronkite on affiliates his network shares.

The ambitious documentary efforts of the news divisions must struggle for air time, as they always have. Two long-lived programs, *CBS Reports* and ABC's *Issues and Answers*, appear both in the 1962 survey and in this one. A number of stations have added each to their schedules; a number have dropped them. The net result is that *Reports* is in a position slightly worse than its standing in 1962; *Issues* is considerably improved.

One innovation that networks have attempted in those years is to fill the void of substantial news on the week end. CBS has had the 15-minute *Sunday Evening News* for many years, and has recently added a Saturday show with Roger Mudd. ABC has two week-end shows with Bob Young. NBC has a show with Frank McGee and the *Scherer-McNeil Report*. Not a one, not even the venerable *CBS Sunday News*, has a high percentage of stations, although the ABC clearances do nearly match the weekday program. The two CBS week-end shows are seen on a little more than half of the network, as is the case with NBC.

The situation, by and large, remains what it was in 1962: Whatever the merits of network news and public-affairs offerings, they are being judged in many cases by local stations; the viewer is often not given his choice.

STATIONS using less than half of news and public affairs offered (excluding stations that used programs from two networks):

#### ABC AFFILIATES:

WEWS Cleveland (Scripps-Howard)  
KRDO Colo Springs (H. W. Hoth)  
WLWD Dayton (Crosley Stations)  
WDTV Fairmont W Va (Beacom-Johnson)  
WKYT-TV Lexington Ky (Taft)  
KATV Little Rock (Griffin-Leake)  
KETV Omaha (World Herald)  
WTAE Pittsburgh (Hearst)  
XETV San Diego (Emilio Azcarraga)  
WSLA Selma Ala (Brennan-Benns)  
WNYS Syracuse (8 companies)  
KTUL-TV Tulsa (Griffin-Leake)  
KGUN-TV Tucson (J. S. Gilmore, Jr.)  
WWAY Wilmington NC (Broadfoot)

#### CBS AFFILIATES:

WTEN Albany NY (Capital Cities)  
KFDA-TV Amarillo (Richardson Fndtn)  
WRDW Augusta Ga (Rust Craft Cards)

KVOS-TV Bellingham Wash (Wometco)  
KBTX-TV Bryan Tex (W.W. Namon)  
WCPO-TV Cincinnati (Scripps-Howard)  
WHIO-TV Dayton (Cox Bcstg)  
KROD-TV El Paso (Trigg-Vaughn)  
KFSA-TV Ft Smith Ark (D.W. Reynolds)  
KXGN-TV Glendive Mont (L. Moore)  
KGBT Harlingen Tex (McH. Tichenor)  
KAYS-TV Hays Kan (Beach-Schmidt)  
WJTV Jackson Miss (Clarion Ledger)  
WJHL-TV Johnson City Tenn (Park)  
KLAS-TV Las Vegas (H.M. Greenspun)  
KLBK-TV Lubbock (Grayson)  
KXMC-TV Minot ND (C. Reiten)  
WKRQ-TV Mobile Ala (K.R. Giddens)  
WWL-TV New Orleans (Loyola Univ)  
KOSA-TV Odessa Tex (Trigg-Vaughn)  
WOW-TV Omaha (Meredith Pubs)  
KTVO Ottumwa Iowa (Post Corp)  
WGAN-TV Portland Me (Guy Gannett)  
WPRO-TV Providence (Capital Cities)  
KFEQ-TV St Joseph Mo (Panax Corp)  
KSBW-TV Salinas Calif (J.C. Cohan)  
WBOC-TV Salisbury Md (Balt Sunpapers)  
KELO-TV Sioux Falls SD (BFR)  
KXLY-TV Spokane (Morgan Murphy)

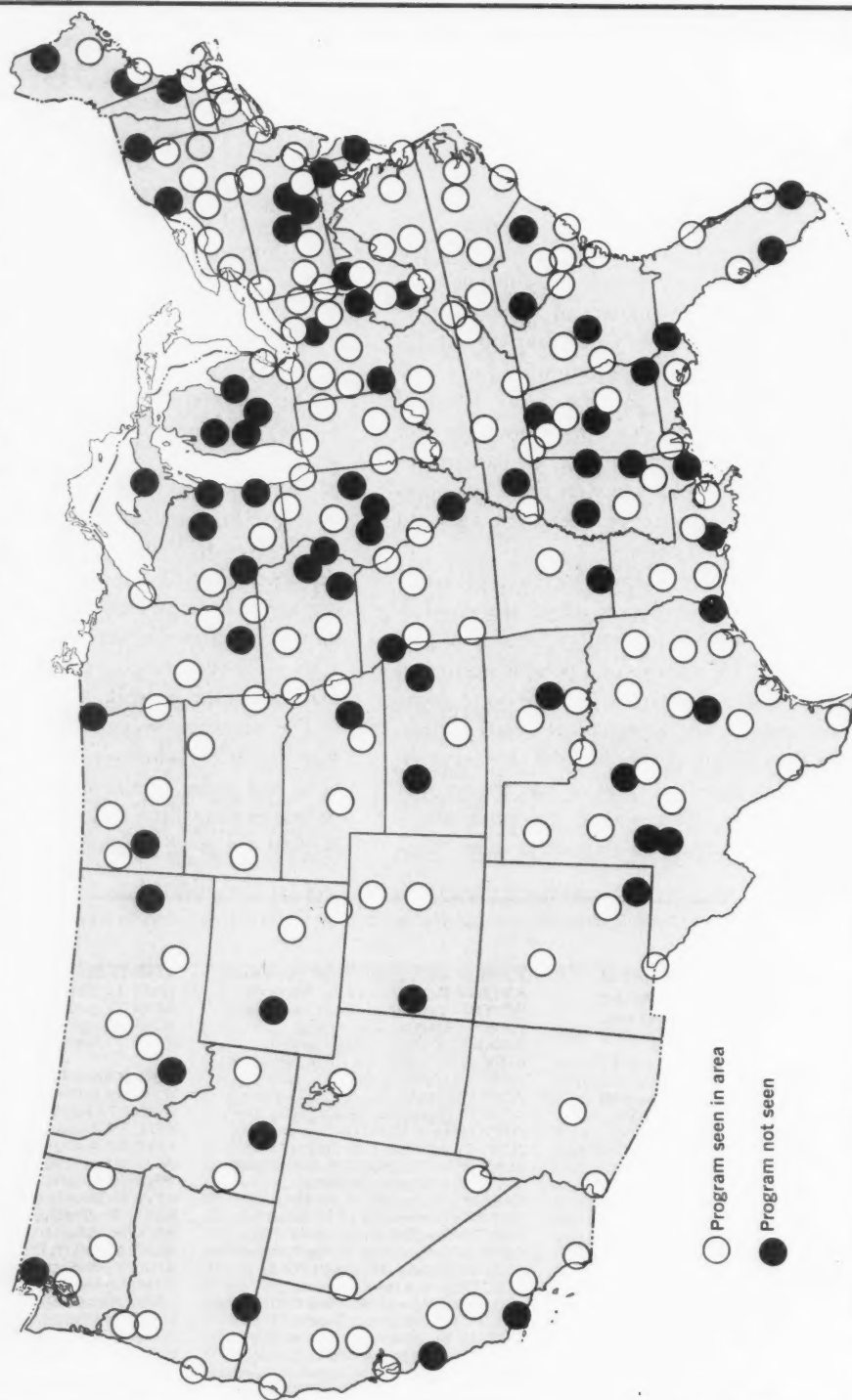
KTTS-TV Springfield Mo (J.H.G. Cooper)  
WSTV-TV Steubenville (Rust Craft)  
KPAR-TV Sweetwater Tex (A.R. Elam Jr.)  
WTVT Tampa (Okla Publishing Co)  
KWTX-TV Waco (Tex Bcstg)

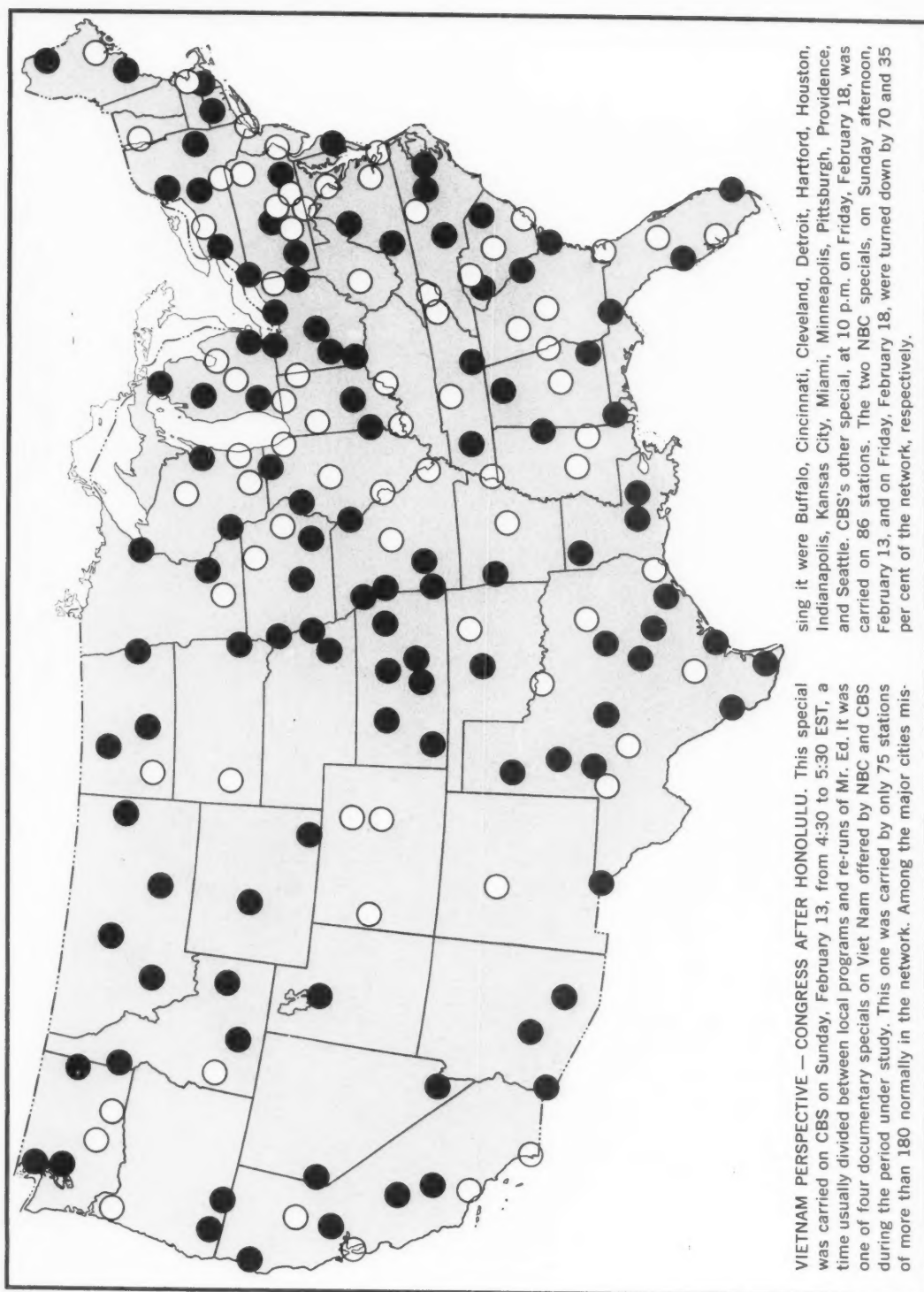
#### NBC AFFILIATES:

WBAL-TV Baltimore (Hearst)  
WNEM-TV Bay City Mich (J. Gerity Jr.)  
KPAC-TV Beaumont (Pt Arthur College)  
KFYR-TV Bismarck ND (Meyer Bcstg)  
WCHU-Champaign Ill (Balaban)  
WSOC-TV Charlotte NC (Cox Bcstg)  
KTVE El Dorado Ark (J.B. Fuqua)  
WOOD-TV Gr Rapids Mich (Time-Life)  
WILX-TV Lansing (Edw. E. Wilson)  
WCKT Miami (S.D. and E.N. Ansin)  
KMID-TV Midland Tex (R.H. Drewry)  
WTMJ-TV Milwaukee (Milw Journal)  
KMOT Minot ND (Meyer Bcstg)  
WLBC-TV Muncie Ind (D.A. Burton)  
WTAP-TV Parkersburg (Zanesville Pub)  
WICS Springfield Ill (Balaban)  
WPNB-TV Traverse City (Biederman)  
KWHL-TV Waterloo Iowa (Black Hawk)  
KUMV-TV Williston ND (Meyer Bcstg)

SENATE HEARINGS, FEBRUARY 10, 1966: This map shows the parts of the country that did not have a chance to see in full the testimony of George F. Kennan before the Foreign Relations Committee. Of approximately 240 television "markets" in the continental United States, 71 did not view the proceedings in full because of (1) ABC's decision to carry

only summaries, (2) CBS's cancellation of live coverage, and (3) the unavailability of two dozen NBC stations. Among the major cities blacked out were Baltimore, Miami, and Milwaukee. When CBS resumed coverage on February 17, the areas blacked out dropped to 20, and even fewer missed the three-network coverage on February 18.



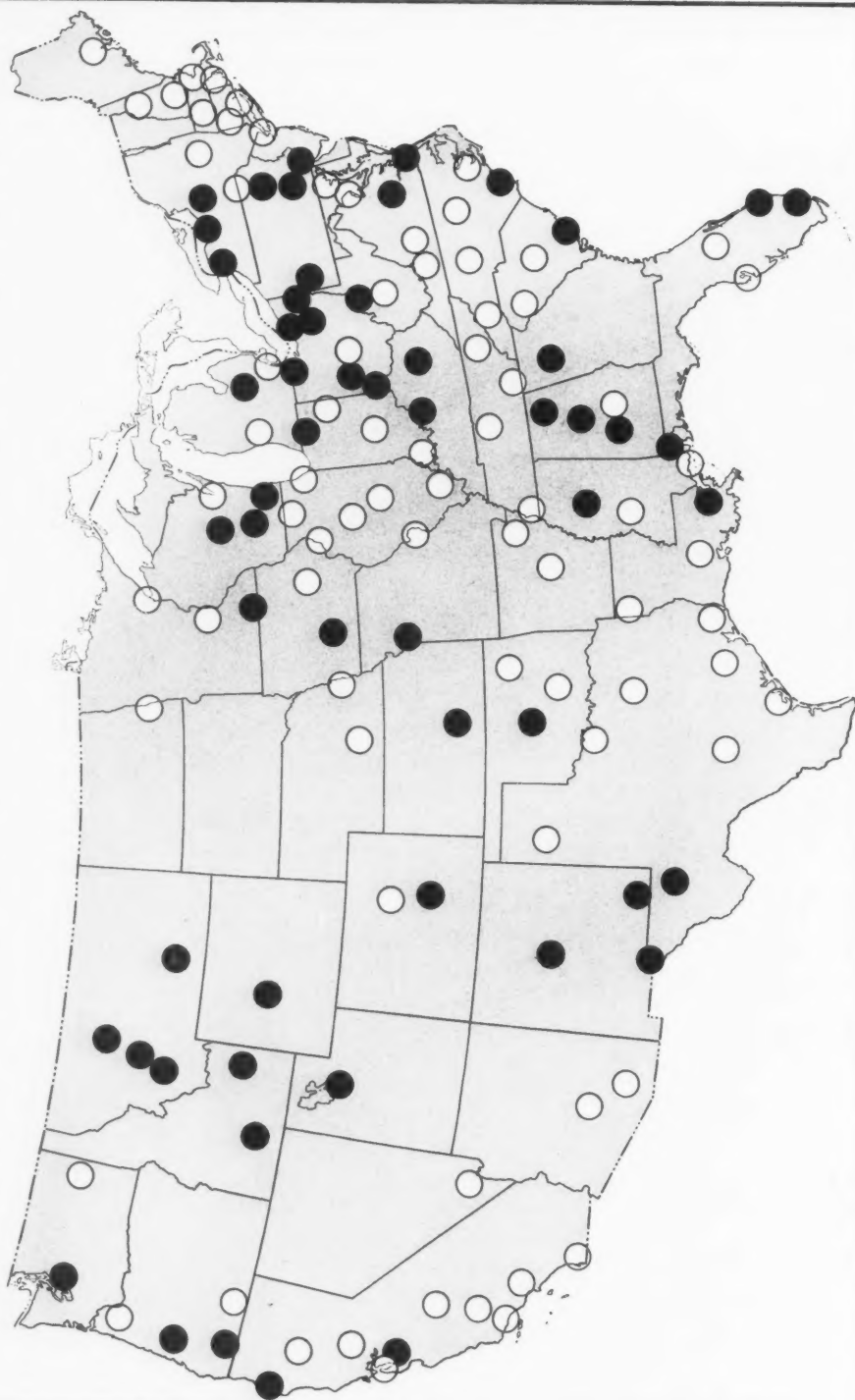


**VIETNAM PERSPECTIVE — CONGRESS AFTER HONOLULU.** This special was carried on CBS on Sunday, February 13, from 4:30 to 5:30 EST, a time usually divided between local programs and re-runs of Mr. Ed. It was one of four documentary specials on Viet Nam offered by NBC and CBS during the period under study. This one was carried by only 75 stations of more than 180 normally in the network. Among the major cities mis-

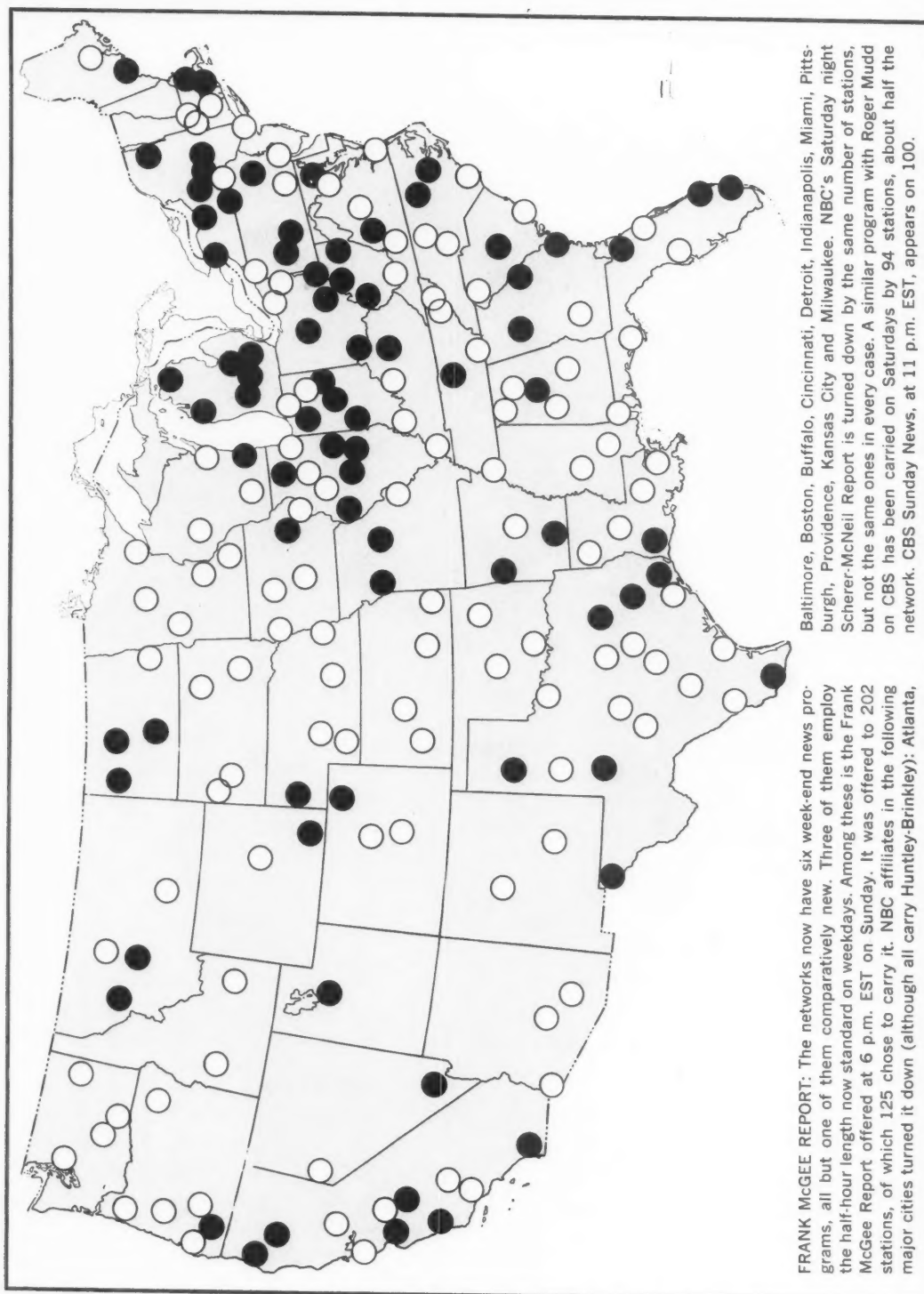
sing it were Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Hartford, Houston, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Miami, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Providence, and Seattle. CBS's other special, at 10 p.m. on Friday, February 18, was carried on 86 stations. The two NBC specials, on Sunday afternoon, February 13, and on Friday, February 18, were turned down by 70 and 35 per cent of the network, respectively.

**ABC SCOPE:** This half-hour weekly documentary, now devoted entirely to Viet Nam, is offered by the network at two times on Saturday evenings, as well as on a delayed basis. By these means Scope is eventually broadcast on 74 per cent of the network's primary affiliates, with 33 stations carrying it live and 51 on delay, many pushing it into less expensive

hours on Sunday. It is not seen in a number of major cities — Atlanta, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Miami, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Seattle. Another regularly scheduled program, Face the Nation (CBS) had General Maxwell Taylor as its guest interviewee on February 13. It was seen on 110 stations, or 60 per cent of the network.





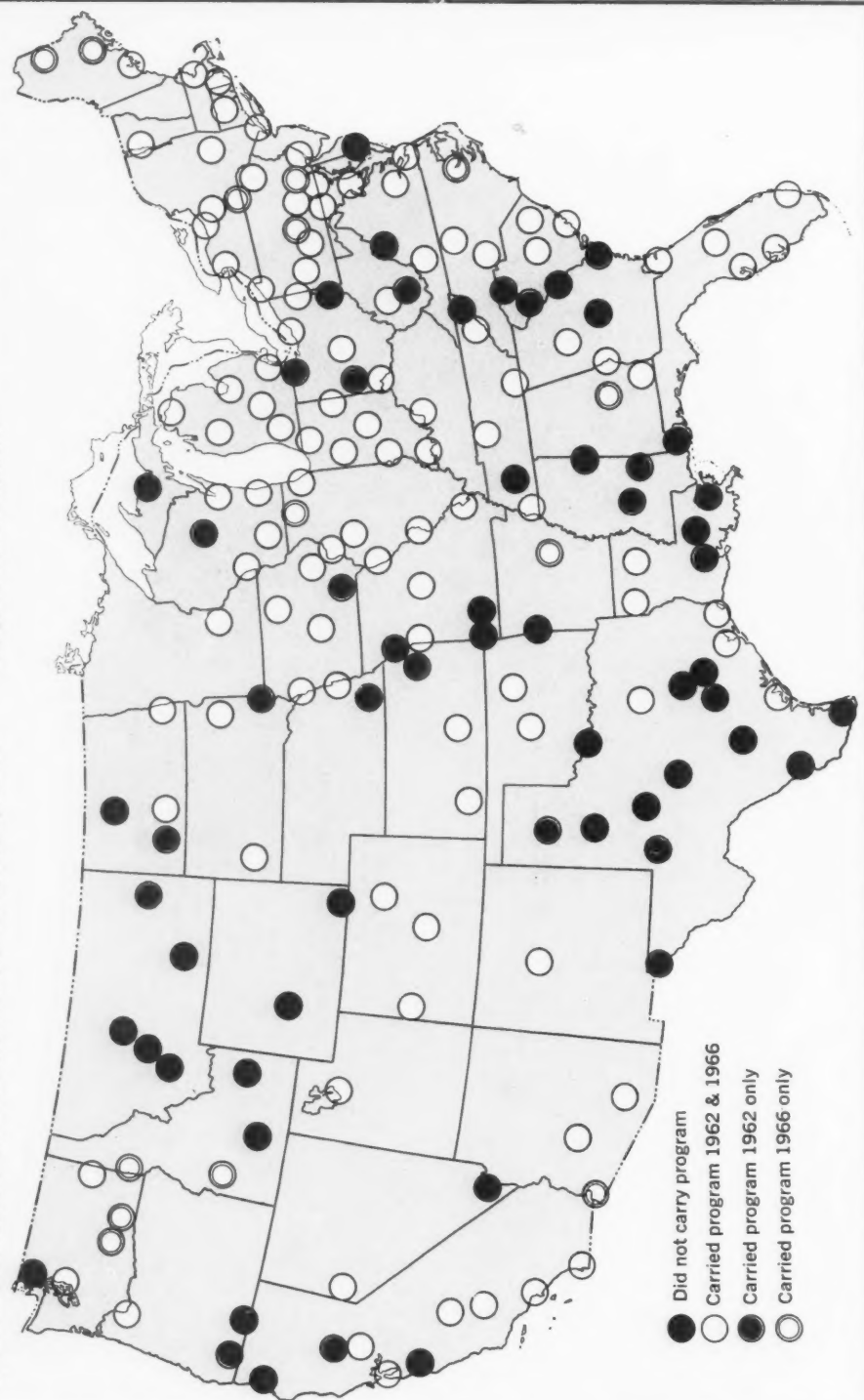


**FRANK MCGEE REPORT:** The networks now have six week-end news programs, all but one of them comparatively new. Three of them employ the half-hour length now standard on weekdays. Among these is the Frank McGee Report offered at 6 p.m. EST on Sunday. It was offered to 202 stations, of which 125 chose to carry it. NBC affiliates in the following major cities turned it down (although all carry Huntley-Brinkley): Atlanta,

Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis, Miami, Pittsburgh, Providence, Kansas City and Milwaukee. NBC's Saturday night Scherer-McNeil Report is turned down by the same number of stations, but not the same ones in every case. A similar program with Roger Mudd on CBS has been carried on Saturdays by 94 stations, about half the network. CBS Sunday News, at 11 p.m. EST, appears on 100.

CBS REPORTS: This is the sole documentary program that has held its position in prime evening time continuously since the previous report in 1962. It appeared from 10 to 11 on alternate Thursdays then; now it is on Tuesdays at the same hour. The map shows the changes among stations carrying the program. In 1962, 137 stations used it; the program of February 15, 1966 ("The Divorce Dilemma") was carried by 127. In

the interval, 14 affiliates added the program to their schedules and 26 dropped it. (The discrepancy in numbers is accounted for by stations' changes in network affiliation.) The other program included in both surveys is the ABC Issues and Answers, which was added by 11 affiliates since 1962 and dropped by 20, but still managed a net gain of 27 through the enlargement of the network.



## ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

### Moving in

In the first quarter of 1966, two new daily newspapers began publication in Illinois and Florida. Although far different in size and scope, they also had striking similarities — the backing of experienced major publishers and their entry into areas of rapid population growth. Together, they could be considered participants in a new kind of expansion of the newspaper business.

### The Arlington Day

For its first venture into Chicago suburbs — and the first such move into its own backyard by a metropolitan newspaper publisher—Marshall Field Enterprises chose Arlington Heights, a prosperous town northwest of Chicago, with a population growth of more than 400 per cent since 1950. In preparation a year, the afternoon *Day* was announced just two weeks before its first issue on January 31. The paper itself was not extraordinary in appearance or bulk. It betrayed few signs that its top editors were drawn from the parent company's *Chicago Daily News*; it was small-town in flavor and subject matter, to the exclusion of everything else except traces of UPI copy and NEA syndicate features. It was being printed by offset in a plant purchased last March by Field Enterprise, and makes use of facsimile electronic transmission to send copy from the Arlington Heights editorial offices to the printing plant, which is in a nearby town.

This relatively simple, straightforward product is being thrust into a complicated competitive

situation (which was explored in detail in an article in *The American Press* for February, 1966). Arlington Heights is the territory of the *Arlington Heights Herald*, a weekly of 9,500 circulation and one of sixteen papers (and the home office) of Paddock Publications, the Chicago area's oldest suburban chain.

That may seem simple enough — a thin young daily against a fat older weekly — but there is competition for advertising on another level, that of the free-distribution "shopping news." Paddock's *Sunday Suburbanite* goes to 71,000 households in the northwest suburbs. In a little-emphasized portion of the January 17 announcement, Field announced that the new enterprise would also publish *Market Day*, to go free to 57,000 households at advertising rates almost exactly the same as those of *Sunday Suburbanite*.

There is competition on a third level too, for both the old *Herald* and the new *Day* must oppose, to an extent, the Chicago metropolitan papers, especially the parent company's *Daily News*.

Thus far, Paddock and other suburban publishers, while showing their concern with an emergency secret meeting, have made only reserved statements, and at this early stage the trend of the competition is far from clear. The *Day* began with a month of free distribution to all Arlington Heights households (about 11,000) before soliciting subscriptions. But there are many hints that the *Day* could be a trailblazer. *American Press* quotes John E. Stanton, *Day* editor and publisher, as saying: "I've received calls from

other metropolitan editors and publishers over the country who read into this move their own pet plan." Field Enterprises itself immediately found another spot to settle in the Chicago suburbs, when it opened the *Prospect Day* on April 18 in a community near Arlington.

### Today: Florida's Space Age Newspaper

The Gannett Company, of Rochester, New York, chose for the site of its new enterprise Brevard County, which sits along seventy-five miles of Florida's east coast. This stretch includes Cape Kennedy and the tributary space communities that have grown up behind it. The population is near a tenfold growth since 1950, being estimated now at 215,000.

In preparation for its project—establishing a county-wide daily—Gannett added to its holdings the *Cocoa Tribune*, an afternoon daily, in June, 1965; the *Titusville Star-Advocate*, a smaller daily; and the *Eau Gallie Courier*, a weekly. These moves left but one independent

newspaper in Brevard, the *Melbourne Times*, an afternoon and Sunday newspaper that is part of Florida's Perry chain.

*Today*, issued from the boom town of Cocoa Beach, has had, from its beginning on March 21, the weight and look of a metropolitan daily. Its first issue was forty pages, and later ones have been larger. It boasts two full pages of comics (one in color), a page of entertainment columnists, a wide selection of public affairs commentators, and use of AP, UPI, Reuters, Chicago Tribune-New York News Service, and the Copley News Service.

It also has a format (see illustration) by Edmund C. Arnold of Syracuse University, who redesigned the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Toronto Star*. The format is not radical, but it does join a few other papers in using pages 1 and 3 as "front" pages.

The early issues of the paper contained numerous reminders of the paper's nearness to the space community: heavy play for stories dealing with space shots; an "ear" in the upper right-hand



New ventures in suburban Chicago (left) and the Cape Kennedy community



corner of page 1 giving the date of the next space shots ahead of the weather; and a syndicated science column by William Hines.

The nearest morning competition for *Today* is the *Orlando Sentinel*, which is a recent acquisition of another northern-based concern, the Chicago Tribune Company. Although, as *Today's* introductory editorial notes, papers also come in from Miami, Daytona Beach, and Tampa, the competitive situation is nowhere near so tangled as that of the new Field paper. (In fact, Gannett Florida announced late in March that it was forming a co-operative news service with the Tampa papers.) The Gannett Company apparently spotted a sizable new community living in newspaper semi-vacuum, and stepped in.

## Cross-pollination

*Besides opening a newspaper, Field Enterprises started a television station in January. Here is a report on it from a Time reporter in Chicago:*

When David Brinkley tore into the network "star system" and told an audience at Columbia University that news shows should be narrated by the men who cover the news and not by celebrities, he delighted the people who run WFLD, the Field Enterprises' struggling new UHF station in Chicago. The station went on the air on January 4 and thus far its strong suit has been the creative use of reporters from the two major Field-owned newspapers in Chicago, the *Sun-Times* and the *Daily News*. The experiment was greeted with a good deal of grumbling in both city rooms, but at last count 103 reporters and editors had made sometimes shaky but usually refreshingly earnest debuts, in what is the most far-reaching cross-pollination of newspaper and a television news operations ever attempted.

The experiment could prove to be a significant development in electronic journalism. Scores of stations are owned by newspapers, but almost invariably the news operations have been basically separate. If the WFLD-Field papers partnership

comes off successfully (and the early signs are favorable), the separation could end and television news could acquire entirely fresh dimensions.

One major problem, getting reporters away from their typewriters and into a studio, was solved by installing in each city room a tiny Videcon camera and a set of two lights, an inconspicuous arrangement that soon fitted into the normal bustle. Herman Kogan, formerly an editor on the papers and now the WFLD news director, sent each reporter a ten-point instruction sheet. "Don't let the camera intimidate you," he urged. "Think of it as that friend to whom you're telling your story in a living room or a bar."

Some reporters turned out to be naturals — veteran crime reporters Art Petacque and Ray Brennan, or Pulitzer Prize winner Lois Wille. Some have been wooden, even petrified, and a few even looked as if they *had* been telling their story in a bar.

But the use of city room spots has given WFLD several interesting advantages. The station has been able to quickly gather informed comment on basically non-visual stories, such as business trends or investigative stories, that most television news operations ignore. The station can also move quickly on late-breaking news. When Indian Prime Minister Shastri died, WFLD quickly rounded up the *Daily News's* foreign news editor and its Washington bureau chief for background.

The rest of WFLD's programming, however, is still make-shift, a melange ranging from low-key documentaries on the joys of ballooning to a Canadian soap opera. With six hours of prime time a night to fill and no network affiliation, WFLD has run heavily to sports.

But WFLD has had its moments. One was a poignant documentary on the people of Viet Nam built from still photographs by a *Daily News* photographer, Henry Gill. The station has plans for more documentaries and news specials, and there will be more such original work, when its new studios are completed this fall. It is too soon to judge whether or not WFLD will provide a fresh, crisp approach to television programming, but in one area at least — news coverage — it has made an impressive start.

JON ANDERSON

Spring, 1966 31

# Playboy and the preachers

Christian Herald, Commonweal, and Commentary now share clergymen's reading tables with the continued-next-month philosophy of Hugh Hefner

By THEODORE PETERSON

Last summer Anson Mount of Chicago took his family to Sewanee, Tennessee, rented a home, and buckled down to two months of study in the graduate school of theology at Episcopal Theological Seminary. In the enrollment of seventy-two, he was the only student not an ordained minister. As *Playboy* magazine's liaison with the nation's clergy and editor of "The Playboy Forum" he took courses in moral theology, contemporary theology, and church history the better to understand and interpret the theological implications of "the Playboy philosophy."

If *Playboy* has not exactly discovered religion, religion has discovered *Playboy*. A minister of the United Church of Christ in Pittsburgh recently remarked, "The average minister's sermons would be more relevant if *Playboy* were required reading." The minister to students at the Wesley Foundation at Indiana University has called the magazine's position "more authentically Christian than much that is heard from pulpits today." In theological seminaries around the country, its founder, Hugh Hefner, is the

hottest thing since Martin Luther, to use Mount's phrase.

Religious magazines have been giving Hefner and his philosophy serious and sometimes learned attention. Within the past few months, his playboyism has been examined by, among others, *Christian Advocate*, a biweekly for Methodist pastors; *Motive*, a monthly for Methodist students; *Arena*, a monthly for Lutheran young adults; *Dialog*, a quarterly edited by a staff member of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in St. Paul; the *Register-Leader*, monthly organ of the Unitarian Universalist Association; and *Listening*, a tri-annual published by Dominicans at the Aquinas Institute.

In *Playboy* itself, clergymen of various faiths are having their say, pro and con, about the new morality, of which Hefner seems to have emerged as Moses. (Clergymen can subscribe to the magazine for \$2 instead of the regular \$8 by ordering it on their church letterhead.) As many as twenty clerics and divinity students visit the *Playboy* offices each week to conduct research in the material that Anson Mount has accumulated or to trade ideas, sometimes over lunch at the Playboy Club. Mount keeps up a running correspondence with clergymen of all denominations—some 2,000, by his estimate.

In the past year Hefner has received several hundred invitations to make personal appearances, most of them from religious groups that

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*Theodore Peterson, historian and observer of magazines, is dean of the college of journalism and communications, University of Illinois.*

want him to speak or appear on panels. Since he has a magazine to publish and a flock of bunnies to shepherd, he accepts only a few. He has appeared at Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Northwestern, and the University of North Carolina. The appearances were perhaps less provocative than their sponsors intended, for often as not Hefner and the ministers found large areas of agreement.

So it was at Cornell during an exchange between Hefner and Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity School, who five years ago in a much-quoted article set off one school of criticism by characterizing *Playboy* as basically anti-sexual. Amiably calling one another "Harvey" and "Hugh," they agreed that sex is an important key to identity and self-knowledge, that they could subscribe to no absolute moral principles governing sexual behavior, that readers find in *Playboy* a projection of what they would like to be rather than what they really are, and that the *Playboy* cult is no substitute for religion. Cox, although by no means converted to playboyism, did concede that his original views of *Playboy* had changed. He added that *Playboy* had changed, too.

Cox was one of those indirectly responsible for bringing about the present rapprochement between *Playboy* and the clergy. In *Christianity and Crisis* for April 17, 1961, he made a point that he briefly picked up again at Cornell: the role of *Playboy* as tastemaker. In his article, he contended that the magazine had reduced woman to just one more accessory, like sports car, liquor, and hi-fi set; the magazine appeals to consumers who must have and use the latest consumption item without permitting themselves to get attached to it. Sex, he said, has become one of the items of leisure activity that the consumer handles with similar skill and detachment:

*Playboy* and its less successful imitators are not "sex magazines" at all. They are basically anti-sexual. They dilute and dissipate authentic sexuality by reducing it to an accessory, by keeping it at a safe distance.

It is precisely because these magazines are anti-sexual that they deserve the most searching kind of theological criticism. They

foster a heretical doctrine of man, one at radical variance with the biblical view.

*Playboy* was hard to ignore in 1961, even though it was only eight years old. It had become one of the most spectacularly successful properties in publishing. Its circulation of 1,236,000 was bringing in profits of \$1,058,000 from newsstand sales alone, and its key clubs were sprouting in metropolitan centers. Critics, lay and clerical, in print and in sermon, began to dissect it.

Benjamin DeMott, professor of English at Amherst, held it up to close scrutiny in the August, 1962, issue of *Commentary*, an intellectual journal sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. He took careful note of the way in which it simplifies all of human experience: "In place of the citizen with a vote to cast or a job to do or a book to study or a god to worship, the editors offer a vision of the whole man reduced to his private parts. Out of the center of this being spring the only substantial realities—sexual need and sexual deprivation."

Clergymen described *Playboy* as a bible for the upward mobile male, an authority defining his values, goals, choices, decisions, personality. They spoke of its emptiness, its failure to nurture insight and understanding. And they also began to speak of its "philosophy."

As critic after critic publicly explained what *Playboy* was, Hefner decided to tell what he conceived his magazine to be. "I decided that if I was going to be damned," he recalls, "I preferred to be damned for what I really believe than what someone else interprets as my beliefs." And so he began "The Playboy Philosophy" in December, 1962, a date almost as epoch-making in corporate perspective as the one in 1517 when Martin Luther posted his Ninety-Five Theses.

Originally Hefner expected to cover his ideas in three installments. But response was so great that he let the series continue; the twenty-fourth installment appeared in last December's issue. In mid-1963 he introduced a companion feature, "The Playboy Forum," letters from readers about ideas brought up in the "Philosophy."

To summarize it is presumptuous and difficult. After all, Hefner has needed three years to

explicate it thus far. Moreover, it is, in his words, "a sometimes rambling, disorganized discourse." Ideas pour forth in a jumble, often fogged by excessively long quotations from sources that Hefner has summoned on his behalf. Qualifications and amplifications sometimes turn up months after the original statement. Hefner feels that for magazine publication his undisciplined approach serves his purpose — to give "a living statement of our beliefs, our insights and our prejudices."

To summarize at least briefly, however, seems necessary. For one thing, it is hard to assess the stir that the philosophy has caused without some notion of the philosophy. For another thing, curious readers will find back issues of *Playboy* hard to come by. Only two libraries in the U.S. profess to have complete runs of back issues and only four more to have any bound volumes at all, according to *Union List of Serials*. (*Playboy* itself has reprinted the first eighteen installments of the philosophy in three booklets, which it sells for \$1 each.)

Hefner admits that he is motivated by the desire to make money. "But I'll add — and only because I've been asked — that I'm the least business oriented, monetarily motivated self-made millionaire of my own particular acquaintance. What I do, I do because I believe in it, and enjoy it; and I never cease to be amazed by the success of it."

As a philosopher, Hefner is not a particularly original thinker. Much of what he says is a twentieth-century version of John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty*, including a utilitarian basis for freedom. Underlying Hefner's beliefs is a profound concern for the rights of the individual in a free society. "When I use the word 'free,' I'm not referring to a society completely devoid of restrictions, of course," he says, "but one in which controls are established to serve rather than suppress the common citizen: a society that is unfettered, just, rational, and humane, in which the individual and his interests are paramount."

Whatever critics say to the contrary, Hefner is not concerned exclusively with sexual freedom, although that aspect has had the greatest attention. In fact, his first seven installments concentrated on matters other than sex.

Hefner is for free enterprise. *Playboy's* emphasis on leisure and urbane living, far from

being merely sybaritic, is consistent with free enterprise. The magazine motivates men by portraying the good life that is the prize for honest endeavor and hard work.

He is for a wide arena of free expression. "*Playboy* believes that this nation is big enough, strong enough and right enough to give free expression to the ideas and the talents of every man among us without fear of being hurt by any man's individual weaknesses or follies."

He is for separation of church and state. He has no quarrel with those who wish to embrace religion, but he believes that an individual has an equal right to be free from religion and its influence. And the influence of religion, as he sees it, has been pervasive and noxious. By stressing self-denial and heavenly reward, it has kept man from enjoying, without guilt, the fruits of his earthly labors and to that extent is incompatible with the free enterprise system. By influencing the state to enact legislation that people do not believe in and will not obey, it has contributed to a breakdown in law and order. By encouraging censorship, it has curbed free expression. By equating sin with sex, it has inspired harmful sexual repressions. Indeed, it is religion, not *Playboy*, that has been anti-sexual, he says; it is religion, not *Playboy*, that has looked upon woman as a depersonalized object or possession and has continuously associated her with its antagonism toward sex.

When Hefner's opening installment was published, some clergymen began to take a friendly interest in *Playboy*. The interest, not all friendly, exploded about a year ago, after Hefner's appearance on a roundtable called *Trialogue* broadcast on Sunday evenings by radio station WINS, New York. Besides Hefner, the panelists were Father Norman J. O'Connor, Roman Catholic priest; the Reverend Richard E. Gary, Episcopalian minister; Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum; and Murray Burnett, moderator. In four hour-long programs, they traded conversation about the *Playboy* philosophy and the sexual revolution.

Dozens of other stations asked for tapes of the broadcasts. *Playboy* carried edited transcripts of them in three issues starting in December, 1964. It also sent out 6,000 reprints with a letter asking clergymen for their comments.



The response has found expression in letters to *Playboy*, in sermons, in religious discussion groups, in religious magazines, and in those pilgrimages to the fount of the philosophy in Chicago. As might be expected in a nation with a variety of religious denominations, the responses have been varied. However, apart from the fundamentalists who regard Hefner as an agent of Satan, the clergymen who have reacted to his philosophy seem to fall into four broad categories: (1) those who flatly disagree; (2) those who agree; (3) those who agree but with some mild to strong reservations; and (4) those who, even though they disagree, welcome his bringing controversial issues up for public debate.

Underlying the last three reactions seems to be the recognition that times and sexual mores are changing and the church had better come to grips with them. Some ministers evidently feel that the church has lost touch with the new generation. Dr. Allen J. Moore, dean of students at the School of Theology, Claremont, California, wrote recently in *Christian Advocate*: "The remoteness of the world of playboys and bunny girls to most ministers makes real communication seem next to impossible. We must learn to *listen* deeply to what is being said before we speak. . . . With every group and segment in the growing de-Christian world, the church must earn its right to speak by learning how to listen with authenticity."

With that Hefner would certainly agree. By default, without planning, he believes, *Playboy* has become the voice of a new generation with a new view of man and of the world in which he lives. If the new generation is responding to his call, he thinks, it is because his magazine is of the new generation, whereas the mass media generally are controlled by older hands.

Whatever their reaction, the clergy and the religious press seem to have treated Hefner more kindly and more seriously than some of the secular media. Early last year Shirley Mair described her visit to the *Playboy* kingdom for readers of *Chatelaine*, a magazine for Canadian women. With an eye open for decor and an ear open for Hefner's talk, she left with a picture of the lonely philosopher-king amidst his court and his splendor — a bit egotistical, a bit naive, a bit

worshiped but more to be pitied than envied. Last October, *Life*, with a prurience it would have found offensive in *Playboy*, devoted a good share of an eight-page feature on Hefner to his "special girl friends." It characterized *Playboy* as "a polished, literate package, [that] urges Americans to enjoy what they have always frowned on: hedonism, which *Playboy* calls the 'swinging life'; unmarried sex, which *Playboy* considers a sign of mental health; a suave, pseudo-intellectualism, which *Playboy* presents as sophistication."

Even churchmen who disagree with Hefner are more charitable than that. In an analysis of playboyism in *Dialog*, Jerome Nilssen, an editor for the Lutheran Church in America, concluded: "Still Hefner is right about a lot of things. There is a hypocritical disparity between our society's sexual standards and actual sexual behavior; there are many ridiculous and ignorant sex laws in the statute books of every state; and there is precious little, if any, intelligent censorship. And *Playboy* has performed a service for the Christian Church in emphasizing the fact that the Ten Commandments and the 'marriage' of Adam and Eve are no longer generally accepted as the basis for sex relationships. And *Playboy* has also clearly articulated the question whether sex relationships need to be permanent in order to be genuine and moral."

As the debate continues, Hefner can count both material and spiritual blessings. Revenues from his publishing company last fiscal year were \$28,400,000, an increase of 36 per cent over the previous year. *Playboy's* circulation, without benefit of special inducements to subscribers, has jumped from 3,000,000 in late 1965 to about 3,700,000.

But Hefner's satisfactions can be less material than that. Less than two hours after being freed from West Virginia state penitentiary, Donn Caldwell wrote *Playboy* a letter thanking it for helping to effect his release. He had served more than two years of a one-to-ten-year sentence for what *Playboy* regarded as an archaic sexual offense. And Hefner evidently has begun to achieve what he says is important — a discussion between the laity and clergy of social and sexual mores. That much remains, whatever his motives, whatever the outcome.

# Editorial notebook

## Revolution on the airwaves

\* Under our noses a major revolution is in the making in the world of television. It could conceivably mean a drastic improvement in broadcasts available for those above the I.Q. of tenth grade — along with a still lower level of mass-audience broadcasts.

Curiously, the revolution is taking shape just when we come to the end of a television season which, despite a few peaks, has been the shabbiest in history from the standpoint of adult, sophisticated content. It is no secret that even the most high-minded of network and station executives have found themselves in a bind created by ratings and financial pressures.

This is not to imply that either networks or stations are in financial difficulties — far from it. Rather, the executives now say they find themselves under pressure to seek the approval of their directors, stockholders, and social peers in the system that decrees that a "well-managed company" is one that shows some increase in profits each year. Without question, this is one factor in the complex that contributed to the recent departure of such news-minded broadcast executives as Fred Friendly of CBS and Robert Kintner of NBC.

The background is approximately as follows:

Network executive Smith has authorized major expenditures on staffing, equipment, and travel for news and documentary broadcasts. He is even willing to lose a little money, if necessary, in the time period devoted to such high-I.Q. broadcasts.

Here he runs into problems: Relatively low audience ratings of all serious, intelligent programs carry over into the next program period. This can make the next period less desirable commercially. It lowers the average rating for the entire evening. Many affiliated stations decline, accordingly, to use the news or documentary programs.

Moreover, the ratings decline has repercussions in the financial community, for, as *Broadcasting*

*Magazine* and the *Wall Street Journal* have pointed out, financial analysts are following the ratings with increasing care. This means that a very slight drop in overall ratings for a network, for example, can affect the price of a stock. That, in turn, can affect the reputation of the management and, in the long pull, even the permanence of the management. One respected network executive has said: "If we did all the things I would like to do and that I think we should do, we could ultimately lose control of the organization."

In the meantime, we face a technical revolution. The lucrative franchises of the television station owners will not long be so lucrative. An increasing numbers of old TV receivers are replaced by the multi-channel receivers now required; UHF stations will come into being in increasing numbers. The city that now has only one or two television stations may soon have four, or five or more. Community antenna television (CATV) will further increase the listener's range of choice. We are not far from the orbiting satellite which can broadcast programs directly to local stations and ultimately, perhaps, to every home receiver.

This multiplication of channels available to the average home receiver could lead to the operation of a sort of Gresham's Law, under which multiplying competition produces lower and lower standards. This has happened to a degree with the multiplication of radio stations. In radio, however, it has also led to an increase in the minority offering good music, news, and discussion.

Out of all this comes the distinct possibility that the mass of programs will continue at a relatively low level, but that a minority of stations will offer more thoughtful output. Such output might well include high-grade documentary films to the extent that they are available, sophisticated discussions among articulate intellectuals, political debates without the artificial foreshortenings and interruptions now imposed, and even concerts.

This picture may well prove too optimistic. Of one thing, however, are we certain: A revolution in television broadcasting is just over the horizon. It is unlikely that our society will put up with near-saturation of the airwaves by lowest-common-denominator programming.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

A noted broker and writer finds...

# Flaws in financial reporting

By GERALD M. LOEB

Ever since I entered the securities field, more than forty years ago, it has surprised me to see the far greater amount of space that is devoted by the press to sports, amusements, and other non-hard-news departments in comparison with finance. Once, perhaps, I might have been accused of being prejudiced. But times have changed and are changing fast. There are nearly 20,000,000 stockholders, many of them largely unsophisticated and still uninformed. There are also many more millions who are indirect stockholders, through their interest in pension and profit-sharing plans or insurance companies.

Although the attention paid to financial journalism by communications media has been increasing, it is much too slow in its growth. The time is coming when newspapers — and magazines and broadcasters — will have to budget more for financial-business news. This will mean more staff, more and better-paid reporters, and more space.

Moreover, it can mean fewer of the flaws and omissions of the kind I cite here.

Many errors derive from superficial or erroneous reading of basic materials, like annual reports. The other day I saw the annual report of a company that showed earnings per share about

the same as the year before. Examination of the footnotes, however, made it clear that had the same accounting been used in both years this company would have been several million in the red in the current reporting period. I rarely see this kind of explanation on the financial pages I read, and I read the best.

I mentioned this to an editor friend of mine, and he said: "Of course, you are right in a way, but we haven't enough people to take the time and meet our deadline. Most often we have to rely on the press release."

This editor knows that the press release tends to put the most optimistic slant on a situation. Corporate public relations men think it helps their business. They also feel that optimism keeps stockholders more satisfied. My belief is that the more financial reporters go behind the scenes the more realistic press releases will become.

Leonard Spacek, chairman of Arthur Anderson & Co., a leading firm of certified public accountants, gave an example of superficial reporting in a speech he made early this year. He pointed out that the *Chicago Daily News* gave Bethlehem Steel headline prominence because on the surface it seemed as if Bethlehem's net profits advanced 44 per cent while Inland Steel's net was up only 27 per cent. Mr. Spacek explained that if one looked behind the figures both companies actually showed about the same gain of 27 per cent.

William A. Paton, professor emeritus of accounting and economics at the University of Michigan, in a recently published book called *Corporate Profits*, wrote: "It is a truly sad state of affairs when we see that financial writers can't

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*Gerald M. Loeb has been associated with the securities firm of E. F. Hutton & Company, Inc., since 1922. He is the author of The Battle for Investment Survival.*

even tell the difference between the distribution of corporate assets in the form of securities owned — accrued dividends — and a split of outstanding shares, an entirely unrelated phenomenon and completely counterfeit as far as dividend action is concerned.”

At lunch recently we were talking about the difference in the look of a financial statement of a company that handles its own receivables as against one that establishes a financing affiliate.

In the case of the first, the liabilities can loom very large. In the second, the balance sheet simply shows an investment in an affiliate and only in the notes to the financial statement will it be shown whether the affiliate's indebtedness is a contingent liability of the parent company. Such points are rarely covered in most press reports.

In 1921 my brother was a cub reporter on the *San Francisco Chronicle*. I was working in a stock brokerage office in San Francisco then. It seemed that to him getting a “scoop” was as challenging as winning a race. In my work as well, time was a vital factor. E. F. Hutton & Company those days was known on the Coast as a “wire house.” The major effort was to send market prices, reports, and news west quickly and receive the market orders east with equal speed. My brother counted time in minutes and I counted it in seconds.

In the early thirties in New York the time factor was the same. Dow-Jones and the New York City News Bureau competed to see who reported the important news first on their tickers. This same sense of urgency seemed to pervade the press.

Oliver Gingold, the famed *Wall Street Journal* reporter who died in March, was proud to be fourteen minutes ahead of the competition in reporting an American Telephone dividend increase. It seems that we have gone backward instead of forward in time consciousness, a vital part of superior financial journalism.

Today the swiftness in financial reporting seems to have changed. Rarely does one hear of a scoop. I sense that making an early edition or beating a deadline today is hardly of the same importance as it was years ago. In fact, a major brokerage house frequently flashes spot news on its own private wire ahead of the public news services.

This subject, the speed of news dissemination, got considerable publicity in the Texas Gulf Sulphur case.

In this case the Securities & Exchange Commission is questioning Thomas Lamont, a director of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York. Thomas Lamont is also a director of Texas Gulf Sulphur, which made a major mining discovery in 1965 at Timmins, Ontario. At the conclusion of a directors' meeting, press releases were given to a group of reporters waiting for the story. Because he considered the news now to be public, Mr. Lamont telephoned the investment officer of his bank advising him to watch for good news on Texas Gulf Sulphur stock. The bank officer bought stock for clients of the bank.

However, the news services were slow in disseminating the news. I feel the news services should have vied with one another to flash the news first. If the reporters had done their jobs as is expected, within moments after the news was announced by the directors it would have been on all the news tickers in the country much before a director could phone it anywhere.

The news conference occurred at 10 a.m. on Thursday, April 16. Merrill Lynch flashed the news to its chain of brokerage offices at about 10:30. It was almost 11 before the announcement appeared on the news tape watched in brokerage boardrooms. It is even said that information concerning the discovery was in the *Northern Miner*, a trade newspaper, which was available in New York before the 10 a.m. opening of the market, and which could have been used by an alert press for a pre-opening bulletin.

The best financial reporting calls for a rebirth of the spirit of “getting it there first.”

Nothing means anything in financial news unless the average reader of the newspaper understands it. I inquired of a friend of mine, who is the managing editor of a metropolitan newspaper, how it was possible for misleading headlines to appear, particularly since they ran over financial stories on the front page of his newspaper rather than the financial page.

He replied, “Well, after all, time is very short and managing editors are not financially trained.”

I asked, “If that is the case, why doesn't the





# New York World-Telegram

The Sun

Local Forecast: Warm and humid tonight and tomorrow. Details on Page 2.

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## Stocks Suffer Year's Worst Setback

See Story Below

### WEATHER

Today: Sunny and pleasantly cool.  
Tomorrow: Fair and slightly milder.  
TEMPERATURE RANGE:  
Today: 64-74  
Tomorrow: 67-77  
Humidity: 74-84  
Report and More—Page 12

### NEW YORK

## Herald Tribune

Established 125 Years Ago. A European Edition Is Published Daily in Paris

**THE LATE CITY**

Vol. CXXV No. 43,436

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1966

TEN CENTS

## Stock Market Plunges Again; Worst Day Since the Assassination

By Philip Greer  
Of the Herald Tribune Staff  
The stock market plunged again yesterday and today, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average ending at 1,000.14, its lowest point since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Losses in the glamour issues ranged as high as 15% in the Dow Jones Industrial Average. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed at 1,000.14, its lowest point since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

For the Dow industrial, the loss was the greatest since the crash of 1929. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed at 1,000.14, its lowest point since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

under the \$25 level, which was expected to be a solid support level. The market is expected to continue its decline.

Headlines on the stock market—"a responsibility to millions"

financial editor explain the import of the front page story to the managing editor?"

He answered, "They rarely have time for that."

I suspect there are other reasons as well. The sports editor can run all the exaggerated and exciting headlines he pleases and not do anyone financial harm. But the financial editor has a responsibility to millions. If he unjustifiably used words like "breaks," "collapses," or "millions lost," just for the sake of sensation or brevity, he could affect the behavior of the market further.

I think financial reporters should get out of the habit of quoting the Dow-Jones Averages in their story leads and use instead calculated changes in the values of *all* stocks. Regarding the former, a percentage change would be better or the use of an average such as Standard & Poor's, which is about twice the average price of all listed stocks and would come closer to the true picture. The Dow is about twenty times the average price of stocks and magnifies both strength and weakness out of proportion.

Financial reporting today also rarely produces exclusives. This is a quality that I believe deserves to be in the front rank.

One type of exclusive story is the exposé. One

of the best exposés I can recall is the RKO-Howard Hughes story of 1955. In this case a team of *Wall Street Journal* reporters in New York, the Midwest, and the Pacific Coast investigated the sale of Howard Hughes' controlling interest in RKO to a five-man stock group for more than \$7,000,000. These stories cast unfavorable reflections on the previous business reputations and associations of some of the purchasers, and led to the resignation of RKO officers, an application for receivership of the firm, and the forfeit of a deposit of \$1,500,000.

At the conclusion of the newspaper strike in October, 1965, *The New York Times* said editorially: "... the American press has duties and obligations as well as privileges. Foremost is the responsibility of keeping the public of this democracy informed. Of equal importance is the responsibility for analysis and criticism of public affairs and public policies."

This point of view is certainly of vital importance on the financial page. Businessmen and investors properly believe that what they read in a responsible newspaper is correct and complete. Of all the considerations that should encourage good financial reporting, this is the essential one.

# How editors pick columnists

For newspaper editors, choosing a columnist is like choosing a wife—maybe not so permanent and not so monogamous, but just as much by hunch and hope

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

What standards do editors use in picking syndicated public affairs columnists?

If you ask editors you get a fairly uniform collection of criteria: political balance, original reporting, no punditry, lively writing style, no extreme positions.

But editors selecting columns are much like men selecting wives: they say one thing and do another.

One editor: "I look for guys who report the facts. I don't want thumb-suckers who write from their armchairs." This editor's paper carries William Buckley, Walter Lippmann, and Barry Goldwater, who are primarily analytical or polemical.

Another editor: "We don't care about big names. If a man has something to say we don't care who he is or what his connections." This editor admitted that the week after President Kennedy's assassination he took on William White, known to be a friend of Lyndon Johnson, and stopped printing (but later resumed) Charles Bartlett, who was a friend of John Kennedy.

Still another editor: "I look for a columnist who can write. There's no use wasting valuable

space on stuff that is hard to get through." This paper runs David Lawrence and Arthur Krock, who have other qualities but are not celebrated as the most scintillating stylists in the trade.

Yet another: "We try to present an absolutely fair balance of opinion." At the time this editor said this he carried, by his own count and classification, five liberals, six moderates, and eight conservatives.

A convincing description of the mystical process that probably characterizes most selections was given by Norman Cherniss, editor of the editorial page, *Riverside (California) Press Enterprise*:

"I try to buy people I have some reason to believe are good, as determined by a set of nebulous and difficult-to-define standards, and someone who will be read. We have about fourteen or fifteen public affairs columnists right now and I do bear in mind the need to present a broad spectrum of opinion without giving space to the nuts. What I am saying, I guess, is that it is in great measure a matter of by-guess-and-by-golly and we are all very fortunate that I am as wise as I am."

In fairness to most editors, the more they talked about the selection process the closer they came to the subjective description by Cherniss.

The simplest standard, of course, was expressed fifteen years ago by the former editor of *The Milwaukee Journal* who said, "I think the syndicated column is one of the biggest rackets ever put over on editors. . . . A page of these syndicated columnists is a perfect reproduction of the yackety-yack that fills the room after the third or fourth dry

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*This article continues Ben. H. Bagdikian's series on public affairs columnists, a study supported by a grant to Columbia by the Dell Publishing Company Foundation.*

martini." The *Journal*, like *The Chicago Tribune*, is anti-columnist. But they are a dying tribe. For most papers the public affairs column is a growing and rapidly changing institution.

The chief change is the increasing number of columns each paper buys and a stronger effort to include in this enlarged quantity a mixture of points of view. There is not a balance of syndicated political opinion as it appears in most papers but the trend is in that direction.

Robert Hall, president of the Hall Syndicate, says this about the men his salesmen talk to:

"I think most editors are searching. They will listen to arguments for quality. They realize that the pressure from radio and TV is great and they need to do a better job than before. Anything that will make their paper more appealing attracts their attention. They're all searching today, more than ever."

This appears to be true. But virtue in a syndicated column is in the eye of the beholder and two men, even co-professionals, seldom make the same judgments. In 1962, the then-editor of the *Houston Chronicle*, William P. Steven, asked twelve syndicate executives to cast ballots for the political columnists they would consider essential for any paper they were editing. The serious columnists getting the largest votes were, in alphabetical order, Joseph Alsop, Walter Lippmann, Drew Pearson, James Reston, Inez Robb, and Henry J. Taylor.

Yet these do not represent the usual political mix in papers. I would classify these selections as 5-to-1 liberal, while in general papers have a preponderance of conservative columnists. Nor does the list include all of the most widely printed columnists. David Lawrence is missing, though his syndicate participated in the balloting. (Lawrence's syndicate could have been outvoted. The syndicate men cast 135 per cent of their maximum permitted ballots. Considering the strong tendency among syndicate men for exuberance in arithmetic and certain other matters, 135 per cent is an apathetic performance.)

In the not-too-distant past many editors took their columnists in a mailed package and ran what they got. Now they pick and choose. One syndicate salesman said, "Why, even the small papers that used to take any schlock we gave them are beginning to get fussy." Another experienced syndicate executive saw a difference in age of editors: "The old boys tend to buy on name alone. As the new boys come into the field, you can sell more on quality alone."

How does an editor test his choice? He usually balances his personal reaction against those of

others. These include the general public, from whom voluntary response is usually small. More important is his owner or publisher, his staff, and his social peers in the community.

Several years ago a national magazine referred to a prominent columnist as a "thurifer" for the Administration in Washington. The president of an Eastern newspaper company, like most readers, did not know the meaning of "thurifer" and looked it up. He was dismayed to learn that it means "formerly an acolyte, now usually an altar boy." He mentioned this to the editor and expressed his disappointment in the columnist. The editor dropped the columnist.

An editor in the Midwest said that if a new column is successful he hears his staff talk about it. He says he is influenced by outside talk. "I hear conversation around town. You pick up an awful lot of reaction at lunch."

This kind of sounding process was described by other editors. It suggests somewhat a closed circuit of judgment, vague, informal, and subjective. Considering the difficulty in putting columnists in political and social categories and the individual variations in content and style, such an imprecise and visceral judgment is probably inevitable. The few editors who had simple and precise standards and seemed to stick to them had excessively rigid papers.

The factors that help determine which of the twenty-five major domestic public affairs columnists and which of the twenty-five lesser but still nationally syndicated ones will be selected for regular appearance in any given community emerged from talks with editors who describe their conscious standards, from syndicate men and columnists who have some acquaintance with what makes a column appeal to a local newspaper, and from observation of newspapers to see what actually appears. These factors can be grouped as follows:

#### **The trend toward political balance**

The principal vehicle for the new variety of printed opinion in the larger cities is the dramatically increased number of syndicated public affairs columns appearing in the metropolitan press. Counting the major serious columns, the top dailies have nearly doubled their use in the last six years. A 1959 study of 711 papers in the country was used for my analysis two years ago\* of the political ratio of columns in given papers. A recheck of twenty-one of these metropolitan papers

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\*"How newspapers use columnists," fall, 1964.

in 1965 (in Akron, Atlanta, Chicago, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix, San Francisco, Wilmington, Omaha, Washington, and Oklahoma City) shows a dramatic rise in the quantity of public affairs columns used since 1959. Of these papers, only one is using fewer columns, three the same number, and seventeen more. The increases have been striking: one paper is up by seven, another by six, another by five. The aggregate number of major columnists used in 1959 was seventy-one, but in 1965 the same papers were using one hundred and thirty-eight.

Similarly striking is growth of the idea that a paper should give a voice to "the other side." The degree of this shift toward the liberal side is overstated by using large metropolitan papers because it is precisely these big-city dailies that have shifted most vigorously, while smaller papers, as confirmed by syndicate operators and by sampling, tend to remain very conservative. Nevertheless, the shift is dramatic.

The *New York Journal-American*, leader of the Hearst chain, was in the recent past an overwhelmingly conservative paper in its editorial policies and in the columns it printed. Like all Hearst papers, it was once limited by fiat to syndicated commentary only from Hearst subsidiaries, like King Features, which are heavily conservative. By orders of the founding Hearst, for example, every Hearst paper had to run conservative columnist George Sokolsky every time Sokolsky wrote. After the death of Mr. Hearst the restriction was removed. Last year the *Journal-American* took a large advertisement in *The New York Times*, itself a daring move for Hearst, to declare:

"The New York Journal-American An Opinionated Newspaper? Yes . . . A Many-Opinionated Newspaper. The Journal-American likes to give every man his say . . . You may not like what they say. But you may like reading a newspaper that gives them a chance to say it. The New York Journal-American, The Many-Opinionated Newspaper That Lets YOU Think For Yourself."

The *Journal-American's* former competitor, Scripps-Howard's *World-Telegram*, also a bastion of conservative commentary in the past, began printing the liberal Murray Kempton and took advertisements jollying itself for such a shocking change.

Six years ago most of the twenty-one big-city dailies in this sample showed the conventional top-heaviness in conservative commentary. In 1959, one paper had a liberal-conservative balance in columns, nineteen had an imbalance

(fourteen on the conservative side) and nine were grossly unbalanced, with at least three more on one side than on the other, six of these on the conservative side. In 1965 of these same papers, nine were balanced, twelve were unbalanced (five on the conservative side) and six were grossly unbalanced, four on the conservative side. The percentage of conservative columns in the aggregate of the twenty-one papers went from 70 per cent in 1959 to 52 per cent in 1965.

The big-city dailies are not typical of all American papers and these twenty-one have obvious special cases that do not appear elsewhere. The *New York Post*, for example, has five liberal columnists (of the major ones studied) and no conservatives, but the *Post* is unique. If the *New York Post* and the Washington papers are eliminated, the big-city sample would still show a liberal shift but the total conservative portion would go from 70 per cent to 60 per cent rather than to 52 per cent. Nevertheless, the changes in both numbers and political coloration are striking.

The most nearly ubiquitous columnist remains conservative David Lawrence, who is in eleven of the twenty-one. He was followed by Lippmann and Reston, each appearing in eight of the papers. (Lawrence is issued five times a week, Lippmann twice, and Reston three times.) The absence of Drew Pearson from top exposures in these twenty-one big-city papers may indicate that although he has the largest number of newspaper clients of any public affairs columnist, his strength is not in the major metropolitan papers.

Smaller American papers show no such dramatic change, according to estimates of syndicate sales to the non-metropolitan press and from random observations. The liberal shift seems to be a phenomenon of the big cities.

A survey was made of eleven papers under 50,000 circulation, chosen at random except that

**Proved Circulation Boosters--**

**KING Commentary Columns**

**JOHN CHAMBERLAIN**  
*These Days*  
Characteristically, this has been one of the most authentic, bold and white-hot of all commentary columns. Has 241 client papers.

**WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.**  
*On the Right*  
Sparks the areas you read, opinion, and even when the last reader offers his conservative criticism.

**BOB CONSIDINE**  
*On the Line*  
Candid and unapologetic and well-known to all readers of the world's best known column.

**JIM BISHOP**  
*Jim Bishop Reporter*  
Best selling author Jim Bishop builds his leadership with thoughtful reporting, penetrating observations, and superior writing.

King Features ad specifies number of client papers only for John Chamberlain (241)



they represent all regions and used columns fairly heavily in the 1959 study. These papers increased their number of columns in the aggregate only from forty-six to forty-eight.

In 1959, of these smaller papers, nine were unbalanced in the political pattern of their columnists, eight on the conservative side. In 1965, eight were unbalanced, seven on the conservative side. The conservative proportion of the aggregate was 74 per cent in 1959 and 65 per cent in 1965.

In the smaller papers, as in the big ones, David Lawrence was the most commonly used columnist, appearing in eight of the eleven. He was followed by John Chamberlain, Holmes Alexander, and Evans & Novak with four papers each.

### Local competition

Competing dailies tend to escalate column warfare in quantity and kind. *The Washington Post* prints Art Buchwald who does political satire; the *Washington Evening Star* prints Arthur Hoppe who does political satire. The same tendency to match each other covers the spectrum of serious commentary. One paper took on William White and its opposing editor admitted he tried to get Max Freedman, who he believed had access to the White House that came close to White's.

### Big names

Despite editorial protests that notoriety does not influence sales, the evidence is that it does. It is a natural influence. Editors usually see a few sample columns from a new entry's past, but they have to commit money and space to future performance. The reputation of the columnist is germane. Many men get a head start in the column business through fame for something other than writing or reporting or analysis. A major consideration seems to be whether the reader (or editor) will instantly recognize the name. Barry Goldwater is one example.

Richard Nixon, after his 1960 presidential campaign, wrote a series of twelve articles for national syndication. His syndicate sent out 125 telegrams to editors offering the Nixon series at very high prices and 95 papers took the series sight unseen. (Recently Nixon entered the lists again, though at lower prices.) Carl Rowan was not regularly syndicated when he was a reporter for the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* but he was after achieving non-journalistic fame as ambassador to Finland and director of the United States Information Agency.

### Primacy of reporting

Editors exhibit a professional prejudice in favor of factual presentations and objectivity, even though columns almost by definition are subjective. While editors preach this inclination more than they practice it, there is a special cachet in the trade that marks the column with the appearance of "digging" and "scoops." The spectacular success of Drew Pearson is due largely to his air of reportorial *kutzpah*. The quick rise of Evans & Novak is attributable partly to their content and style, which emphasize factual, inside information. Allen & Scott are popular with many small-town editors because they seem to give behind-the-scenes scoops on wicked Washington.

Some of the most prominent columnists are not essentially reportorial (Lippmann and Lawrence, for example) and some diatribists enjoy success (like Jenkin Lloyd Jones and William Buckley) but the columnist who seems to be expressing personal opinion without relevance to the news often runs into serious trouble. Novelist John O'Hara was dropped after a year by the *Newsday* syndicate because, it said, local editors initially attracted to O'Hara by his reputation didn't like his depending so much on personal opinion. Larry Fanning, former executive editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, himself a major harvester of journalistic talent, said of O'Hara, "He turned his column into a personal pulpit, which bored me and bored our readers."

There are some fairly successful columnists who are more boring than O'Hara but they exhibit an air of concern with contemporary events. When John Crosby ended his columning career last year some editors gave as their reason for dropping him that he had shifted from a specialized column on broadcasting to one of general commentary in which he depended on strictly personal opinion. As a critic of broadcasting Crosby had ninety-one newspapers, according to his syndicate, but as a general columnist only thirty-one.

### Bandwagon

Professional men are peculiarly sensitive to the opinion of their co-professionals. Newspapermen pay a great deal of attention to the standards and practices of other papers. There is little doubt that editors generally are easier to approach with a syndicated column that already has been accepted by prestigious papers or by a large number.

Syndicates regard it a matter of honor not to disclose the client list of any particular columnist, nor even to give an accurate count of the number

of newspapers that most columnists appear in.

One major syndicate, in response to a request for the number of papers buying each of its major columnists, answered: "...our Company policy precludes us from ever issuing this information." Yet that same company in its advertisements in the *Editor & Publisher Syndicate Directory* publishes in its blurbs accompanying some of its columns and comics, "...over 500 client papers... nearly 600 makes him one of the most popular comics... Dominates the field with nearly 800 client papers... Nearly 500 client papers..." It is quite noticeable that certain other columnists and features, whose blurbs run alongside the ones quoted, carry no numbers of clients. A cynical man might conclude that numbers are published when they are high and kept secret when they are low. Syndicate salesmen often use the secret numbers to convince editors that they are in good (or at least populous) company.

#### Price

Lippmann at \$50 or Pearson at, let us say, \$175, is impressive, but fifteen other men at \$200 for the lot are cheaper and easier to justify to the business office. Newspaper budgetary offices often set the limits to be spent on syndicated material and since public affairs commentary is a subtle item, whose impact is hard to measure, there is pressure to substitute quantity for quality. More papers are buying more columnists at higher prices than ever, but there is still considerable price competition in the Byzantine economics of syndicates.

#### Frequency

Editors prefer a column they get every day to one they get once a week. As fixed-position features, columns become part of the newspaper-reading ritual. The more regularly a given column fills a given space the greater its hold on the readers. The devotee of David Lawrence, for example, can look for him every day in the same place; if some day he is missing or in his place the reader finds Ralph McGill, it constitutes a disruption of expectations, not to mention severe culture shock. Not many columnists write every day (some who do are Lawrence, John Chamberlain, Evans & Novak, Holmes Alexander, Russell Kirk, Fulton Lewis Jr., and Drew Pearson). More write three times a week. Lippmann writes twice a week. But there is little doubt that in general high frequency increases sales. The biggest jump in client papers for William Buckley came when he went from once-a-week to three-times-a-week.

#### Inside sources

Despite formal disclaimers by many editors, they show intense interest in the personal relations of columnists with the political leadership of the country. Columns that show evidence of inside sources or create that impression are easier to sell. Journalistic friends of President Kennedy, like Charles Bartlett and Joseph Alsop, were not harmed in their sales by this relationship. Even if they did not trade on this friendship in their talks with editors, syndicate salesmen did.

Today William White, in the minds of many editors, is the alter ego of President Johnson. White's sales rose dramatically after Johnson became President. One editor who was asked if this influenced his interest in White said, "Damn right. The day after the assassination I told my people to find out how much Bill White would cost." Not long after the assassination, White's syndicate, United Features, took a full-page ad in *Editor & Publisher* with a portrait of White and the legend, "Confidant of leaders in the national capital, 30 years' association with politicians whom he likes — and they like and respect him." White knows many prominent politicians but few editors thought of anything but White's relationship with the President. A month after the assassination, White wrote in his column, not, he took pains to say, to boast of his friendship but to assure his readers of the high caliber of the newly elevated President: "For 30 years... I have intimately known Lyndon Johnson as I have never known any other public — or private — man." A few editors dropped him precisely for this reason, but many more picked him up.

Most metropolitan editors were similarly aware of the personal relationship of columnist Max Freedman, first with John Kennedy and then with Lyndon Johnson. A remarkable number of editors know, for example, that Freedman contributed to Kennedy's speeches and later that he did the same to Johnson speeches. In his heyday Freedman invited leading editors to dinner in his Washington home where the President dropped in in and spent a long evening in conversation.

When Carl Rowan left government office to start a column he began with what is claimed to be a record high of initial clients. His column was promoted with photographs of Rowan-the-official speaking to President Johnson, though at this writing Rowan-the-journalist has not once interviewed the President.

When the columnist himself is a news-maker then he has a built-in advantage. This undoubtedly contributed to Barry Goldwater's initial success as a columnist, since he was the subject of

major political news before the 1964 campaign.

This dual role also created problems. Some editors would not buy his column because they considered him a candidate a year before the convention; Goldwater himself bowed out of his column when he started his active campaign. Beyond that, Goldwater sometimes irritated the editors who did buy him because what was written into his columns he sometimes uttered in speeches on the Senate floor before his column was printed. One enraged editor called Goldwater's syndicate to demand, "Why the hell should I pay you for something I get from the AP?" The syndicate begged Goldwater not to give away on the Senate floor what he was selling in his column but the irrepressible Arizonan found it hard to restrain himself. After Goldwater's 1964 defeat and retirement from the Senate, one syndicate salesman said, "Thank God. Now he won't give his stuff away to the Senate press gallery. If we can only keep him from giving free interviews with stuff he's selling in his column we'll be all right."

#### **Ease of reading**

Editors look for a happy mixture of solid facts, exciting perceptions, and lively style. The lack of any one element increases the need for the others. But the most pervasive quality editors seem to notice is writing style. Jenkin Lloyd Jones was catapulted into national syndication largely on the basis of a speech he gave in April, 1962, before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in which he attacked modern education, morality, and culture, which in itself was not novel, but he did so in spectacular style. The speech was widely reprinted and talked about and shortly afterward Jones became a columnist.

One element in Drew Pearson's success is his lively style. This used to contribute to the prominence of men like Westbrook Pegler and Walter Winchell but their style was so bizarre and their content so eccentric that when national tastes changed they went into a decline, whereas Pearson, whose style is simple and straightforward, increased his sales.

#### **Local mores**

Ralph McGill, an outspoken integrationist and liberal, does not sell well in Mississippi. Holmes Alexander, a sometimes colorful conservative, does not have his greatest exposure in the Eastern metropolis. Where a columnist is carried in hostile territory or on a hostile editorial page he seems more vulnerable to severe editing, or occasional total blackout, or cancellation of contract. Pear-

son lost Mississippi clients when he wrote strong columns in favor of the civil rights movement.

Others announce themselves as spokesmen for particular regions. Paul Harvey, for example, frequently attacks big cities and the East, and he speaks of small-town, non-Eastern people as "us." As a result it is not surprising that he is found most often in papers serving his cultural clients. One of his passages, for example (in a column that was mailed from 250 Park Avenue, New York City), stated: "On cram-jammed Manhattan Island if the news is good the natives go to sleep; if it's bad they go to pieces. But Americans west of the Hudson are somehow less easily terrified or intimidated. The 'provincial' American is not obsessed with the inter-dependence of the Big City, nor does he envy it."

#### **Positions that are forthright—but not too**

Pearson can take strong positions and survive because he is an established institution and because he varies his targets sufficiently to permit Monday's victim to rise from his bed of pain to watch his enemy get the same treatment on Wednesday. Lesser figures are more vulnerable. Norman Vincent Peale offended many readers and editors with a column during the Kennedy-Nixon contest and his distribution suffered.

Editors seem ambivalent about colorful writing and strong opinion. They want stimulating material and often speak contemptuously of columnists who straddle issues. At the same time they frequently tone down columns, occasionally through fear of libel but more often because they don't wish the paper to appear biased or unfair. Thus, syndicate editors constantly monitor syndicated writers to guard against extreme statement. The result is that some columnists initially entered the trade successfully because they attracted attention with their flamboyance and toughness but once established run into an editorial impulse to dilute the original potency.

The variations and contradictions in standards used to select columns is inevitable. Traditional journalism is judged on its factual accuracy, relevance, and entertainment value. These pose problems enough. But at least the usual news story is a familiar outgoing inhabitant of the simple, sunlit world of formal information.

Public affairs columns are moody intruders from the deeper forests of history, political science, literature, and philosophy. They are complicated creatures requiring new standards. The old touchstone of measureable accuracy is still central but it is no longer enough.

## BOOKS

### The irresponsible

CISSY PATTERSON. By Alice Albright Hoge. Random House, New York. \$4.95.

"The trouble is," President Franklin D. Roosevelt once wrote consolingly to Archibald MacLeish, who had just been excoriated by *The Chicago Tribune*, "that Bertie, Joe Patterson and Cissy deserve neither hate nor praise, only pity for their unbalanced mentalities."

That may well be the judgment of history on the activities, now happily past, of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Tribune*; his cousin, Captain Joseph Patterson, founder and publisher of the *New York Daily News*; and Patterson's adoring sister, Eleanor Medill Patterson (as she finally called herself), publisher of the defunct *Washington Times-Herald*.

The real accomplishments of McCormick and Patterson in creating newspaper properties which have legitimate distinctions of their own are unfortunately obscured by the record of their irrational and essentially unreal approach to national and international politics, which constitutes one of the darker chapters in American newspaper history.

About Eleanor, or "Cissy," as everyone knew her, there is less to be said as far as her newspaper is concerned. As journalism, it was a disgrace to the profession, and few people except its employees missed it after it was gone. As a publisher, Cissy was a curious anachronism, a fact that jacket designer Anita Karl has cleverly reflected in a green-and-red composition with Post Gothic type running beside Auguste Carolus-Duran's early painting of Cissie, from the Chicago Historical Society's collection. This jacket breathes the spirit of another day, when journalistic madness was not only more respectable but more effective.

Cissy's life and times are here chronicled by her grandniece, Captain Patterson's granddaughter, a Radcliffe girl who was the first woman elected to the editorial board of the *Harvard Crimson*. She is now the wife of James Hoge, an editor of the Chicago

*Sun-Times*, once the *Tribune's* bitterest enemy. There is more peaceful coexistence in Chicago these days than there used to be. [See next review. ED.]

As a member of the family, Mrs. Hoge had access to a good deal of material not available to others. She particularly acknowledges her indebtedness to Frank C. Waldrop, the *Tribune's* Washington veteran who has just written a book about the Colonel, "for the spirit in which he gave me the key to two rooms of hitherto confidential files and went on a vacation." But she has also talked to many of Cissy's eminent friends, and even some who were not so friendly, as well as to at least a dozen members of the McCormick-Patterson tribe. To this she has added research in family papers, correspondence and manuscripts.

Consequently Mrs. Hoge has produced an exceptionally well-researched and well-documented book, and she has told her story in a good, readable style, which would have been better if the clusters of clichés had been edited out. It is not a very pretty story, as another cliché has it, and in spite of her family connections, Mrs. Hoge is not particularly sparing of Cissy in telling it. The narrative, however, has a dispassionate tone which has the effect of



Self-sketch of Cissy (from biography)

treating Cissy's really outrageous actions in much the same way it speaks of more routine episodes — like the voice level of the news announcer whose reports of Viet Nam and deodorants are indistinguishable. Mrs. Hoge is not making any moral judgments, thank you.

It was, on the whole, a fantastic life, in which the *Times-Herald* was the most flamboyant episode. There are informative and fascinating chapters on Cissy's Chicago childhood, her brief career as the Countess Eleanora Gizycka, a Polish aristocrat's wife, with its cops-and-robbers finale, involving the kidnapping of her child, Felicia, by its own father;



her love affair with Jackson Hole, Wyoming; her short flings with novel writing and a second husband, a Washington lawyer named Elmer Schlesinger, who died of a heart attack; and her long and complicated relationship with William Randolph Hearst, which led to his naming her in 1930 as editor of his Washington *Herald*. Seven years later she leased the evening *Times*, published from the same plant, and in 1939 she bought both properties to make a morning-evening-Sunday combination.

Cissy's career as publisher of the *Times-Herald* has to be read to be believed. It ought to be read, too, because it is a classic study in irresponsible journalism, with hardly a single redeeming feature. Fortunately, Mrs. Hoge devotes a large part of her book to it, and the story is at once amusing and depressing.

In the context of history, what Cissy and her relatives in Chicago and New York did while fighting F. D. R. and America's entry into the Second World War seems little more than ridiculous today. When Mrs. Hoge says that Mr. Roosevelt made "a serious political blunder" in dressing down Captain Patterson in their historic White House confrontation, thereby earning the publisher's everlasting hatred and antagonism, she is not to be taken seriously. All of Bertie's and Joe's and Cissy's ranting and raving failed utterly to influence the course of history, or of domestic politics. Roosevelt was twice re-elected in spite of their rabid and often unethical opposition; and the debate over isolationism was no more profoundly affected by their diatribes than the Spanish-American War was influenced by Hearst—another American myth. Hearst does not rate much more than a line or two in serious histories of that war, and the McCormick-Patterson influence will no doubt be similarly recorded.

Mrs. Hoge believes that Cissy's "secret," the "key" to her power over other people and the source of her unhappiness, was her detachment from the rest of humanity . . . She destroyed human relationships and then mourned them, and she died feeling rejected." A psychoanalytic basis for Cissy's actions, the author suggests, may lie in the "environment of stone mansions and an estranged family" in which she grew up. Certainly she was a complicated woman; there was much more to her than her self-denigrating description of herself as "just a plain old vindictive shanty Irish bitch." She is worth reading about not alone because her story itself is entertaining and in some ways instructive, but because she and her newspaper relatives represent a

part of journalistic history, an anachronistic survival to be sure, but representative of an era in personal journalism which is now gone forever.

JOHN TEBBEL

## The Chicagoans

**MCCORMICK OF CHICAGO:** An unconventional portrait of a controversial figure. By Frank C. Waldrop. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. \$7.95.

This book is a triumph of subject over biographer. In setting down the bitter truth about Robert Rutherford McCormick and his flaming sword, *The Chicago Tribune*, Frank Waldrop has tried neither to excuse nor cover up. But in the process he has made his book almost unreadable. Though a newspaper reporter and editor for twenty-five years, he has mired the details of McCormick's extraordinary life in pages of superfluous history, slapdash organization, and labyrinthine syntax.

Still, the drama of the Colonel and "The World's Greatest Newspaper" is too rich to be completely subverted. There is McCormick the child, dressed in pink until almost seven because his mother mourned the loss of a daughter; McCormick the student, avidly embracing the simplistic notions of social Darwinism that would misguide him throughout his life; McCormick the improver of spelling—"frate," "tho," "burocrat"; McCormick the deluded military man—"I introduced the ROTC into the schools . . . I introduced machine guns into the army . . . I introduced automatic rifles"; McCormick the threatened, thrashing out at the Anarchists and the Communists, the British and the United Nations, Wilson and FDR, even, near the end, The Associated Press; and, finally, McCormick the haunted, so plagued within that when he stayed in Washington with his cousin Cissy Patterson, she had to remove anything breakable in his bedroom because "in the dark hours, the terror could overtake him so that [his] shouts and battles with his demon would echo through the whole house."

No lord of U.S. journalism needs—or lends himself to—a good biography more than McCormick. Unfortunately, though the material is there, this is not it.

One not-so-brief footnote: In the eleven years

## BOOKS

since McCormick's death, Chicago has quietly shaken down to a cozy two-ownership city—the Chicago Tribune Co.'s *Tribune* and *American* vs. Field Enterprises Inc.'s *Sun-Times* and *Daily News*. Nobody disturbs the peace, as Waldrop correctly puts it, “morning, evening or any time at all.”

It is not even wise to try. Seeking a reviewer for Waldrop's book, the *News*'s enterprising Saturday cultural supplement, *panorama*, went to the trouble of tracking down Milton Mayer in Switzerland. Mayer's credentials for the job are unassailable. Not only is he an author, social critic, and wit; but as a former Chicago newspaperman, he is a McCormick-watcher in excellent standing. “So many people are still afraid of the *Tribune* and its many tentacles,” the summons to Mayer lamented. The Waldrop biography, it went on, “needs the kind of courageous, outspoken review only a handful of people could do . . . we hope you will do it.”

Swallowing hard, the summoner, Joseph Haas, a *panorama* editor, continued: “The catch, of course, is the *panorama* budget; we can pay only \$50 for the review, one of our top prices. However, we are hopeful you still might be willing to do it at this rate, much beneath your standards, because of your interest in the subject matter.”

Because he was interested in the subject and because he did not want to endanger the reserves of Field Enterprises, which has been netting \$10,000,000 annually, Mayer agreed to write the review. It ran to 3,000 words and when it arrived at *panorama*, the supplement's chief editor, Richard Christiansen, was so ecstatic that he wrote Mayer a letter of extravagant praise and thanks. He scheduled the review as the lead article in the February 26 issue, illustrating it with three of the famous “Colonel M'Cosmic” cartoons drawn by Cecil Jensen for the *Daily News* when Frank Knox owned it in the early 1940's. Christiansen was so enthusiastic, in fact, that he voluntarily raised Mayer's pay to \$115.

Mayer received the \$115, but the review never ran in the *News*. It's not that Roy M. Fisher, the paper's editor, didn't like it. “I must say,” he wrote Mayer, “that I enjoyed reading it immensely, agreed with most of the conclusions you arrived at, and am

sure that our readers would have found it most entertaining.” The trouble with the review, was that Mayer had made “certain judgments” concerning McCormick and the *Tribune*. “Because of our special corporate relationship vis-a-vis the *Tribune*,” Fisher wrote, “any judgment we might find it appropriate to make on our competitor should be made by ourselves rather than by an outside writer published in our columns.” As a work of elucidation, the letter rivaled Ring Lardner's “‘Shut up,’ he explained.”

In his review, which was ultimately published in the May issue of *The Progressive*, Mayer writes that McCormick's “real ignorance was not of the nature of man and society—that, too—but of living. Nothing that he owned or acquired helped him live. He was helpless to communicate with his kind . . . The devil was a poor devil, filling the role that classic tragedy requires, of a highly placed man, neither very good nor bad, who encompasses his own destruction through pride and pride's pitfall, anger. McCormick was angry all his life, and his anger cost him everything a man wants except the fear that men have of men who have power. And then his power failed him. He died defeated by popular political power unafraid of the power of a mere newspaper.”

These are Mayer's “certain judgments,” and Waldrop's biography supports them from first to last. But never mind that. When the committee that runs Field Enterprises meets the committee that runs the Tribune Company at the Chicago Club, their “special corporate relationship” will still be cozily intact.

RICHARD POLLAK

## He never returned

THE WORLD OF SWOPE. By E. J. Kahn, Jr. Simon and Schuster, New York. \$8.50

The pity of Herbert Bayard Swope's career was that he never seemed to fulfill himself after resigning as executive editor of the New York *World* in 1928. He served on the New York State racing commission, he indulged in high-level press agency and numerous business enterprises, and he advised and consulted. But he never returned to the newspaper business, where he had made his reputation. And

he never went on from journalism to a nationally prominent position that might have seemed commensurate with his many talents.

Indeed, Swope's later career was such a disappointment that his life may not seem to rate a full-scale biography. He was a minor figure in recent history, almost forgotten now except by a dying in-group that still remembers his fabulous parties, his gregarious nature, his exuberant spirit and endearing — or maddening — habits (arriving late to everything probably being the best known among them). Yet Swope left behind an enormous mass of letters and memorabilia, and his family, notably his son, wanted a biography done.

They could probably not have found a more gifted man for the job than E. J. Kahn, Jr., a *New Yorker* writer, who spent several years researching and writing *The World of Swope*. Kahn has painstakingly uncovered the most obscure "Swope stories" and woven them neatly into a rich and witty account. The book, while it will be most interesting to those in the newspaper business, contains vignettes from the lives of many men who knew Swope and were somehow involved in his career.

Kahn's book is at its best in covering the years when Swope was at his best, first as a local reporter, then a correspondent at home and in Washington, and finally as executive editor of the *World*. Swope beat other reporters to crime stories in New York, notably the Rosenthal murder of 1912 and scooped them again at Versailles. He edited the *World* into a vibrant crusader. He epitomized the bygone glamor of the newspaperman. Some of the "Swope stories" that Kahn includes are well known — the time he told a city editor complaining about his tardiness, "Whenever I come in, I'm still worth any two other men you've got;" or the time he donned top hat and cutaway and covered a meeting at Versailles from the diplomatic section.

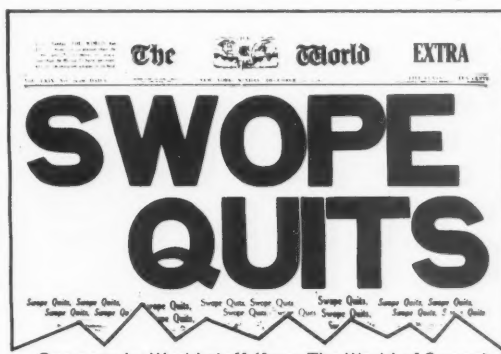
Kahn examines, as no one has before, Swope's coverage of Germany before the United States entered the war. Not always, as Kahn points out, was Swope a model reporter, even if his stories were well received at home and he won the first Pulitzer Prize in 1917. On one occasion, for instance, the Germans obligingly showed him the Russian front, and Swope, just as obligingly, reported that "torture, murder, incendiarism, robbery and attacks on women" characterized the Cossacks' techniques. As for Germany, he predicted that she "would never be defeated." And he prayed "for an early peace — a peace with honor to all concerned, especially to

Germany, who has waged so wonderful a fight against such heavy odds."

Swope's success as a *World* editor after the war is newspaper legend. He led the paper's crusades against the Ku Klux Klan and the Florida penal system and developed the sparkling "op. ed." or page opposite the editorial page. Rarely has such a collection of journalistic brilliance worked for a steady living under one roof. The *World* board, besides Swope, included Walter Lippmann and Arthur Krock, and on the staff were Heywood Broun, Alexander Woollcott, "F.P.A.," Deems Taylor, Samuel Chotzinoff and a host of others.

Swope's *World*, as it turned out, was a thing of the 1920's, along with bathtub gin and the Charleston. Setting the pace, Swope gave all-night parties, played wild croquet (Kahn's passages on croquet-playing are the funniest in the book), invested heavily in business, played for huge stakes in poker and gambled on the horses. Then, in 1928, Swope quit the *World* on the grounds that he didn't "want to be a hired boy any longer." The next year he lost heavily in the stock market crash.

In 1931, for reasons — or non-reasons — that Kahn relates in detail, the *World* was sold and



Gag page by World staff (from *The World of Swope*)

merged with Roy Howard's *Telegram*. Swope failed to buy the *World*, or back someone who was buying it; he failed to find another newspaper. At 46, he was retired. Kahn discusses Swope's fruitless efforts to align himself with Hearst, his hopes that Baruch might support him. The unavoidable question for the frustrated reader is, why? Why didn't Swope return to the newspaper business, if not as an editor and publisher, at least in some high editorial capacity? Or, for that matter, why was he unable to gain control of a newspaper and shape it?

Kahn devotes much of the rest of his work to answering those questions. The fact was, as the book

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indicates, that Swope compromised himself after leaving the *World* by becoming deeply involved as a press agent (he called himself a "publicist") and corporation consultant. Swope liked to think of himself as a "newspaperman" all his life, but he soon lost his claim to that title.

Kahn is not especially critical. Instead, he presents the facts of Swope's post-*World* career without drawing conclusions. He notes, for example, Swope's pathetic efforts to make certain he was credited with coining the phrase, "cold war." He discusses Swope's tenure as racing commissioner, including his heroic battle with the snobbish Jockey Club. He reports Swope's childish desire to gain admittance to the general officers' mess in the Pentagon while working part-time for the Bureau of Public Relations during World War II. And, of course, he tells about those *World Almanacs* that Swope sent for Christmas.

Swope must have wanted more. In reading of his later years, one gets some sense of his inner frustration. Unfortunately, one great honor he received was posthumous. That was the publication of this complete and interesting biography, skillfully written and organized by one of America's best non-fiction writers.

DONALD KIRK

## Anthology of change

THE NEW FRONT PAGE. By John Hohenberg. Columbia University Press, New York. \$7.95.

There is just one word to describe this book. It is superb. Like Civil War buffs, those of us who are fascinated by journalism and all its attendant aspects greet every new publication in the field with intense interest. This holds for the latest book by John Hohenberg, professor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism and the secretary of the advisory board on the Pulitzer Prizes.

This is not just another anthology of the news-

paperman's art. It is rather a scholarly interpretation in which the author buttresses his narrative with a careful selection of illustrative stories. The theme is "an information explosion unparalleled in the annals of mankind." The procedure is to examine the changes in our national posture as reflected on the front pages of our daily newspapers.

The period discussed coincides roughly with the five decades of the Pulitzer Prizes in Journalism, first awarded in 1917. The author's approach is unique: he arbitrarily but admirably selects nine headings, in each of which there are readily apparent gradations of change: the civil rights struggle; crime reporters, new style; the diggers; public service; foreign correspondence; specialists in the Space Age; the personal touch; the interpreters; and the profession. On this framework Professor Hohenberg directs attention to journalism in many guises — reporters, investigators, commentators, skilled specialists, public spirited editors, and crusading publishers. From this plan there emerges a multifaceted, three-dimensional picture of contemporary journalism.

There are so many examples of journalism at its best that it is difficult to single out individual stories. Each reader will enjoy his own preferences. Among those I like best are Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter on civil rights; Miriam Ottenberg on crime and *Cosa Nostra*; Edward T. Folliard on "The Millionaires' Dinner"; A. M. Rosenthal at Auschwitz; Bill Mauldin "Up Front in Vietnam"; Merriam Smith in Dallas; Art Buchwald on "Political Poll — 1776"; Walter Lippmann on "The State of the World"; and James Reston's magnificent "A Letter to Santa Claus," in which, during the newspaper strike of December, 1962, he used this lead: "Dear Santa: All I want for Christmas is the New York Times."

From this book the reporter emerges as a professional who is fulfilling the trust reposed in him. An enormous burden has been placed on its creators by the new front page. The responsibility is faced with skill and talent, so much so that it is fair to say that what was accounted a trade a mere fifty years ago is regarded today as one of the most respected professions.

One can well agree with the author when he points out that journalists are more important to the people of this dark and dangerous age than novelists, dramatists, and perhaps even poets. "[Journalists] wrote of life as it was, but they were not content with it. As the chief interpreters of their



time, they did not shrink from the truth but they hoped eternally for a better world. This was the significance of their work. This was the meaning of the new front page."

This engrossing and thoroughly satisfying book gives further evidence that Americans take high rank among the world's reporters. At the same time, it indicates once more that American journalism has found its gifted historian.

LOUIS L. SNYDER

## Audience of 1,500,000,000

TELEVISION: A WORLD VIEW. By Wilson P. Dizard. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. \$7.95.

Television has been exploding even more rapidly than population. At the end of 1955 there were fewer than eight million television receivers outside North America; in 1965 there were nearly one hundred million. By the early 1970's, transmitters in more than ninety countries will serve approximately one and one-half billion viewers. As in the case of burgeoning populations, television's rate of growth has been most striking in developing areas — but impressive in industrialized nations also.

Mr. Dizard's fact-packed book is devoted mainly to a dispassionate survey of television's overseas growth, but he also ferrets out some of the principal issues that it poses, and briefly suggests a number of policies for consideration in this country. The author is a high official of the United States Information Agency, but his affiliation is apparent from the book's jacket rather than from its content. He deals only in passing with USIA operations.

Three chapters cover television's story in Western Europe (and Japan), in the developing countries, and in the Communist world. Others examine emerging multi-nation television networks; the use of the new medium by Castro, de Gaulle, and Nasser; and the activities of American commercial television in overseas markets. Special attention is given to educational television in both industrialized and developing countries, to the politics of television, and to the implications of satellite broadcasting.

Several trends stand out. Economic necessity has given advertising an increasingly important role in

### Overloaded

#### ATLANTA TIMES TO BE SOLD IN BANKRUPTCY SALE AT PUBLIC AUCTION

The \$2 Million printing plant of the Atlanta (Ga.) Times will be sold at Public Auction Tuesday, April 19, 1966, at 10 A. M. by order of the U. S. Court in Bankruptcy.

Hon. W. Homer Drake, Jr., Referee, has authorized Ralph Rosen, Inc., auctioneering firm of Buffalo, N. Y. and Dallas, Texas to liquidate the property, selling to the highest bidder or bidders. Property is offered in entirety, units and single lots.

Equipment includes presses, linotypes, engraving machinery, stereo equipment, photo equipment, office machines and furniture — everything required to operate a metropolitan daily newspaper. Over 80% of this equipment is less than one year old! This is an opportunity to buy fine printing equipment, or to buy a complete newspaper to be moved or to be operated where it is. Sale includes morgue, files, subscription list, etc. Last issue of Times was on Aug. 31, 1965.

For complete list of equipment, descriptions of machines, and illustrated brochure, write, wire or call —

The advertisement above, which appeared in *Editor & Publisher*, announced the end of a chapter in conservative journalism in Atlanta. The *Atlanta Times* was published only from June 12, 1964, to August 31, 1965. The story of the episode is told in *The Atlanta Times Inside Story*, a slender volume by Frank Veale, who was associate editor, and two of his colleagues. (It is published by the Gresham Printing Company of Greenville, Georgia.)

In form, style, or comprehensiveness, the book has little to offer. But it is filled with clues as to why the *Times* failed to crack the newspaper monopoly of the *Atlanta Constitution* and *Journal*.

One of the chief burdens the paper had to bear was the very equipment listed in the ad above. Managers who had never before been near newspapers loaded the *Times* down with paraphernalia that was too much and too expensive. Veale also charges that the composing room was overstaffed and fumble-fingered and that the distribution system never functioned properly. Veale is filled with sympathy for his editorial brothers, but is brutally direct when dealing with management — including the founder, Judge James C. Davis. In this respect he is ahead of many newspaper historians.

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overseas television; by 1965 fewer than twenty non-Communist nations still had strictly non-commercial systems. Television is not, as was originally supposed, a toy for upper income groups, but more and more draws a mass audience from among less privileged nations and individuals. Regional networks, probably even more than satellite broadcasting, represent the wave of the future; following the striking success of Western Europe's Eurovision, multi-nation hookups are developing in many other parts of the world. Although American television products now set the tone for programming in most countries, the proportion of overseas viewing time occupied by American-prepared programs is likely to decline as foreign competition grows.

Among the problems facing the United States, Mr. Dizard raises the well-worn but still important question of how our television exports can be made more representative of American life. He maintains that the record is already better than most critics of television would concede, but believes that exports will improve still more as educational television, subscription television, and ultra-high-frequency transmissions offer increasing competition to the networks and give program buyers from abroad a wider range of choices.

Another question is how the medium can be used more effectively as a tool for assisting developing countries. One solution that he proposes would be for American educational television to assume a larger role overseas; another would be to initiate pilot projects in selected areas to test television's usefulness as an instrument of social change.

Throughout, the author rejects censorship or greater government control as a means of solving our overseas television problems; indeed, he believes that the United States should promote more free, unsupervised exchanges with other countries.

Television is a difficult subject to write about without being superficial or dull. This book escapes superficiality, but does not always avoid dullness. The parade of facts is extremely long, and the reader's eyes tend to glaze before it has come to an end. Nevertheless, among the mass of facts and statistics about overseas television are many nuggets that are worth staying awake for. We find that in

New Zealand, for instance, commercial advertising is carried only on alternate days. Anti-Castro Cubans reportedly plotted to assassinate the television-conscious premier by attaching a high-voltage cable to a microphone he was scheduled to use. The Netherlands' state television system is operated by the television organizations of five political parties, each of which prepares a day's programming on a rotating basis.

A second hazard in writing about television is the temptation to give a premature and perfunctory burial to other media, including the press, radio, and motion pictures. Here again, the author falls only partially into the trap, but he does tend to give too much weight to the mere size of television audiences. What is missing is the concept of a network made up of all the information media, in which each plays a distinctive and usually essential part. To argue the significance of one medium as opposed to another is like contending that one wheel of a wagon is more necessary than the other three.

Although it could not be called the perfect book on television overseas, this is a useful and important one, and for the first time assembles a comprehensive body of information on a diffuse and difficult subject. Perhaps Mr. Dizard's greatest contribution, however, is to suggest the outlines of a national policy toward television in other countries — one that will confirm the American tradition of free discussion, and will help to create world-wide channels open to independent viewpoints on all questions of public interest. **W. PHILLIPS DAVISON**

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### *The reviewers:*

*John Tebbel, chairman of New York University's journalism department, wrote An American Dynasty, on the McCormick-Medill-Patterson family.*

*Richard Pollak is press section editor, Newsweek.*

*Donald Kirk, now a foreign correspondent in the Far East, is the author of an unpublished study of Herbert Bayard Swope as an editor.*

*Louis L. Snyder, professor of history at the City University of New York, was one of the editors of The Treasury of Great Reporting.*

*W. Phillips Davison, author of International Political Communication (1965), is a visiting professor at the Columbia School of Journalism.*

*Hillier Kriegbaum is a professor of journalism at New York University and an officer of the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing.*

# Training manual

WRITING SCIENCE NEWS FOR THE MASS MEDIA. By David Warren Burkett. Gulf Publishing Company, Houston. \$4.95.

Science reporting, which has emerged as a full-fledged news speciality during the half century since World War I, now has attained one of the ultimate status symbols: its own distinctive guide book and training manual.

David Warren Burkett has adapted his University of Texas master's thesis into 164 pages of *Writing Science News for the Mass Media* and thus provided a useful text for those who want to learn more about this news specialty and those just starting to report what the author calls "the science-engineering-technology expansion." He also writes about coverage of medicine and the social sciences, but the emphasis is on physical sciences and space.

Burkett rightly dwells on the special problems of translating technical jargon; the baffling complexities of covering a multi-session convention; and the ethical dilemmas in this field such as, for instance, whether to check a story with a scientist before turning it in to the copy desk. (He advocates checking only for factual accuracy, if need be, and then only with approval of the reporter's boss.)

Burkett has been science editor of the *Houston Chronicle*, and acting director of the Sloan-Rockefeller Advanced Science Writing Program at Columbia University. He is now with McGraw-Hill in Washington. His background gives what he writes both authority and realism.

Among Burkett's contributions with this book are numerous quotations from his exhaustive scanning of the science reporter's own in-group publications—the National Association of Science Writers' *Newsletter*, and *Understanding* a specialized quarterly of the American Association for the Advancement of Science—along with articles in such more widely circulated magazines as *Editor & Publisher* and *Science*. The 329 "references" listed at the end of the book comprise one of the best reading lists.

Burkett also quotes often and sometimes copiously from this published material, but he weaves these excerpts appropriately into his own text. The author is at his best when he cites illustrative examples from his own experiences with the *Houston Chronicle*

and from autobiographical discussions by other science reporters. For instance, he outlines his own and the *Chronicle* medical writer's coverage of the Houston encephalitis epidemic in 1964. He describes his own activities at headquarters and field centers of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, whose public affairs officers have a standing rule, Burkett says, that astronauts "must be interviewed only on Fridays." He tells how John Troan, science writer for Scripps-Howard newspapers, got a 48-hour scoop on the 1964 Public Health Service report on cigarette smoking and cancer by questioning his many science contacts and constructing from them the reports' highlights. Also he gives the play-by-play on how Stuart Loory of the *New York Herald Tribune* persisted until he got a story about research at National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases through enterprise that Burkett says deserved "a medal for his [Loory's] tenacity and the variety of approaches he used to extract information."

Both professional and amateur science correspondent will find much valuable reading in the final chapter's details on "commando tactics" or how to "produce accurate, newsworthy stories without the approval or even cooperation of government administrative and information officers." Much of this section grew out of his assignments at the Houston Space Center but his counsel might be applied to almost any government, corporate, or educational news source.

Like the field he discusses, Burkett's axioms and guidelines for science coverage range from the highly perceptive and sophisticated to a few that are relatively naive.

Burkett points out that science reporting often is "a secondary, but vital, component of the news on any particular day." Then, he argues, "understanding the news may hinge upon the reporter's understanding of this secondary technical information" if current happening are to be put in proper perspective. He cites as examples how White House correspondents need to know about medicine when writing about a sick President, education writers about science instruction when explaining new curricula, and reporters of government affairs about the panel system of scientific advisors when commenting on research grants to colleges.

In this connection, Burkett warns of the unprepared general reporter turned loose to cover a science event:

"Too often general reporters think it is somehow more interesting to brush off the science fair with

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the idea that what the youngsters do is wonderful, amazing, complicated, and 'Ha, Ha, we don't understand a bit of it.' "

After Burkett's sophistication, it is somewhat baffling to encounter comments such as the following, especially after the author early stated in his text that he was omitting "many primary directions" found in most general reporting books:

"Such [purchased luncheon or dinner] tickets are legitimate expense account items."

"Writers may telegraph stories to their newspapers based upon such (advance releases) and notify editors that these stories are to be held for release. When risking such items to chance publication in advance of delivery, the writer must be certain the scientist actually delivers the address."

"Seldom is a long story dictated by telephone. Usually the telephone is used for a short but important report which becomes a new 'top' or 'lead' to a story filed earlier."

Unfortunately, there is additional evidence of inadequate editing. For instance, Burkett follows the traditional pattern of setting up categories—in this case, of science stories—and then citing examples to illustrate his boundaries. These references, one for each of the eleven categories, would be hard to locate since they include two from the Hackensack (New Jersey) *Record*, both printed in 1961, along with two of his own articles in the *Houston* along with two articles in the *Houston Chronicle* of several years ago. This reviewer also regretted that someone had not revised a few phrases such as "the cathedrals of scientific knowledge and theory that are constantly being attacked and repaired."

In his summation, Burkett says the science writer "stands ready to battle both the scientist-expert and the bureaucrat-expert who would restrict his role as a generalist" and that he "fights a rear-guard action inside the communications field to establish science's right to space, time, and thoughtful public consideration." And Burkett's book should help these new news specialists bridge the distance in understanding between what another writer called "the two cultures."

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

### A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

Even as captive consumers of the instant history delivered by the mass media, we continue nonetheless to be exhorted that it is the duty of the democratic man to understand what is happening. One can reasonably ask whether this is at all possible, and, if it is possible, whether the conventional means of gaining and communicating information actually culminate in understanding. — *from Stations of our Life by William Jovanovich (1965).*

Where a city has both morning and afternoon papers, there is a strong tendency to put them under the same roof, thus having in effect one paper with more or less continuous editions. That is thoroughly economical . . . . It is this tendency which gives great point to the theory that newspapers are destined to become, are in fact now becoming, indistinguishable from such public utilities as light, heat, street cars, etc. — *Henry R. Luce in The*

*Saturday Review of Literature, March 7, 1931.*

On the average newspaper today, who covers the police beat? I do not know and can find no studies to say. But I would strongly suspect that in a number of cases it is the greenest rookie on the staff, lacking training in his own profession, let alone that of the policemen, lawyers, and judges he covers. — *Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General of the United States, Heywood Broun Award dinner, February 14, 1966.*

The society section has remained remarkably free of any good journalistic influence. It is a place where clichés and commercials hang from paragraphs like Spanish moss and where implicit values and attitudes have the twisted character of a cypress root; a place inhabited mainly by tittering reporters and publicity gluttons. — *The Idler (a Washington monthly) January, 1966.*



## REPORT ON REPORTS

*The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with journalism. They were prepared by the editor, with assistance from the editorial staff.*

### Four views on Africa

"A Symposium on the Press," *Africa Report*, January, 1966. Includes: "The Government and the Press," by Titus Mukupo; "Problems of an African Editor," by Emmanuel Adagogo Jaja; "The Foreign Correspondent in Africa," by Clyde Sanger; and "American Press Coverage of Africa," by William A. Payne.

*Africa Report*, the magazine sponsored by the African-American Institute, has collected four solid articles that should contribute to understanding of both the African press and news from Africa.

The first two—by a Zambia government information officer and by the editor of the *Daily Times* of Nigeria—argue opposite sides of the question of question of government ownership of the press. The essence of their statements:

Mukupo: Sympathetic newspapers are "an absolute necessity" during the present stage of development of African countries. Governments acquire newspapers to publicize their programs, to reach audiences that commercial papers cannot afford, and to compete with hostile colonial-style newspapers. Eventually, African governments can encourage private ownership by lending capital or by selling off government papers.

Jaja: Under government control, "party activists" replace editors and writers. The electorate, fed propaganda, is not stimulated into hard thinking for itself. In the end, the "kept" press folds for lack of public support. But the free press in Africa also suffers from severe problems—a shortage of trained

journalists, constant financial troubles, uncertain distribution, and lack of literacy in English or French, the languages of most African newspapers.

The Sanger and Payne articles also form a pair. Sanger, a correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*, admits that foreigners have filed too much trash from Africa, and asks: "Would Africa have been better off if no foreign correspondents had ever gone there?" Sanger says not. He maintains that foreign reporters have had important, though informal, intermediary roles between African and European capitals, between new and old regimes.

Sanger also takes up three African complaints against the press, the British press in particular—that there is too much hostile comment, that there is too much "speculation," which he attributes partly to a lack of frankness and accessibility by African government officials. The other complaint he sees as arising from Africans' failure to grasp the nature of the Western press.

Payne, who worked in Africa before joining the *Post*, compares today's coverage of Africa to that of nearly a century ago, when Stanley went to find Livingstone. He says that today's correspondent is a generalist charged with covering an enormous area, with time only to rush from crisis to crisis. Yet, Payne also says: "A dozen or so American reporters, notably those affiliated with *The New York Times*, have risen above these enormous odds to give us some conscientious and insightful reporting... Some of the most promising, however, are transferred out of Africa just as they became familiar with its complexities..."

Payne's chief new exhibit is a survey of African news in eleven American "prestige papers" in June, 1965. (The month was "normal" until June 19, when the overthrow of Ben Bella produced an Algerian crisis.) Eight of the papers also answered a

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brief questionnaire on their arrangements for covering Africa. (Newbold Noyes, of the *Washington Evening Star* pleaded "professional secrecy, whatever that is.") Four of the eleven had full-time correspondents resident in Africa, and these four — not surprisingly — were ranked first, second, third, and fifth in total lineage about Africa. The largest lineage was (of course) *The New York Times* (an average of about 66 column inches a day) and the lowest in the group was the *Atlanta Constitution* (less than ten inches a day).

### Answer to Draper

"Dominican Intervention: The Myths," by Paul D. Bethel; "Dominican Intervention: The Facts," by J. B. Bender. *National Review*, February 8, 1966.

These articles comprise a response to what the *National Review* editors call "a slovenly, biased, and uninformed" article, "The Dominican Crisis," in the December *Commentary*. The object of the attack is Theodore Draper, who thought United States intervention was a big mistake. [See "Report on Reports," winter, 1966.] Bethel is a veteran of the United States diplomatic corps who covered the Dominican crisis for the Mutual Broadcasting System. "Bender" is a pen name for a Latin American specialist, who was, the *National Review* says, "involved in the Dominican tangle from the beginning."

Although Bethel ridicules Draper's conclusion that a group of American correspondents "saved the honor of their country," he passes few direct judgments on their work. Rather, he attempts to establish the truth of material about atrocities, some of it originating with the United States ambassador, that Draper had called "contaminated news." Bethel offers miscellaneous documentation from persons he says were eyewitnesses, and criticizes correspondents for not checking the ambassador's report with refugees at the hotel where the reporters were staying. Bethel credits himself with being one of those who did check the story, and he endorses it.

"Bender" comments directly on the work of such reporters as Tad Szulc of *The New York Times* and

Dan Kurzman of *Washington Post*. He says that they had "legitimate cause for their indignation at the [United States] government's professions of neutrality." He writes:

"Reporters' questions to embassy and military spokesmen were met with simple restatements of Washington releases. It is difficult to imagine good reporters not introducing a certain amount of skepticism into their dispatches under such circumstances. What caused the Administration's major problem in its handling of the Dominican situation arose in part from this reportorial skepticism: if the Administration was obviously lying about its 'neutrality,' its credibility about the facts of a Communist takeover was bound to be questioned."

### Footloose

"Junket Journalism," by Frederick C. Klein. *The Wall Street Journal*, February 14, 1966.

The junket, it appears, is not a dying custom. Collecting more facts than is customary in discussing this subject, a *Wall Street Journal* staffer finds, on the contrary, that participation is wider than ever and costs are higher. (Klein defines a junket as "a trip, hospitality at the destination, and a sponsor who picks up the bills in the interest of a new product, service or cause it wants publicized.") Only participation by journalists keeps the institution alive, of course, and Klein offers many examples:

¶ The 350 journalists who went to Hollywood for a preview of a film, *The Great Race*, at a cost of \$100,000 to Warner Brothers.

¶ The ninety and nine reporters and wives who went to Grand Bahama Island last October for the opening of Holiday Inn hotel and similar newsworthy events. The public relations agency that handled the trip said it produced eighteen "good, positive" stories in New York dailies and national magazines (*Esquire*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *House & Garden*, *Scholastic Teacher*).

¶ The food editors who go to Hawaii to cover the annual American Men's Cookout Championship, sponsored by Kaiser Aluminum.

Varied professional justifications are offered for the acceptance of these (and, sometimes, less frivolous) trips. *The Milwaukee Sentinel* makes an exception to its general ban for government-sponsored trips. The *Portland Oregonian* finds occasions when "a commercial interest and a legitimate news inter-

est coincide." Other papers maintain that junkets make available to the individual newspaper stories it could not otherwise afford.

Klein notes that travel writers are the greatest junketeers of all. A publisher of a daily paper (not named) is quoted as saying: "We run [travel] as a sop to a few advertisers. We take junkets because the alternative is using resort handouts, which are worse." The type of writing that results is indicated by one travel writer who says that he has never written either a misleading story — or an unfavorable one. "If the paper wanted me to be critical they'd pick up my tabs," he says.

"The other side of the coin, of course, is the benefit to the public relations man. And this is summarized by J. E. Schoonover, president of PR Data, Inc., an analyzing concern: "The junket gets the reporter away from the pressure of daily deadlines and helps him to focus all his attention on what the sponsor wants him to hear. [The news story] carries a stamp of objectivity and credibility no paid advertisement can match."

### Why writers fear editors

"Magazine Editor-Writer Relationship," by Warren G. Bovee. Center for the study of the American Press, College of Journalism, Marquette University.  
"Outside Writers," by Cortland Gray Smith. *Better Editing*, January, 1966.

The Bovee booklet, of sixty-seven pages, is the result of a Magazine Publishers Association grant. It shows that although writers may know how they would like to be treated, editors do not agree on how they *should* be treated. A questionnaire completed by sixty-eight magazines that use free-lancers' work showed polar conceptions of fair dealing: Some permit expense allowances; some do not. Some hold manuscripts no more than a week; some hold them three months or longer. Some always give the writer a chance to rewrite an unacceptable manuscript; some do not. Some pay on acceptance; some pay later. Some show authors all revisions; some make exceptions.

All this shows is that magazines and editors tend to shape their policies toward writers to suit their magazines' needs; editors are, after all, usually in the dominant position of wielding the checkbook. But Bovee feels that certain of writers' rights are

inalienable, and he proposes a list of recommended policies. Although it gives fewer privileges to the writer than the similar code hopefully promulgated by the Society of Magazine Writers, it does provide guarantees of businesslike, equitable treatment.

The Smith study, which appears in the publication of *American Business Press*, is broader, in that it covers all outside sources of written material used by the magazines surveyed. The variations in practice, though, are just as broad as among the general magazines. A few of the major findings:

¶ Only four of nearly 200 magazines in the survey use no outside material.

¶ Industry experts are most widely used, followed by public relations people, regular correspondents, professional writers, and stringers, in that order.

¶ Payment to correspondents, stringers, and experts ranges from 2 cents a word to \$300 an article (the largest single sum mentioned).

### TV's managerial class

"The Television Station Manager," by Charles E. Winick. *Advanced Management Journal*, January, 1966.

Dr. Winick's research, which was assisted and given distribution by the Television Information Office, offers a profile of more than half of the television station general managers of the United States. The biographical detail is plentiful: The typical manager is in his early forties, comes from a small town, had war service (with an unusual amount of hazardous duty), went to college, and usually reached his post by rising through the television business, rather than coming in laterally from another field.

The previous jobs of the managers offer a clue to the nature of television. About two-fifths of them had earlier jobs in sales, and an equal number were in programming. A tenth had had engineering jobs, and a seventh were once announcers. (Some had more than one type of job, of course). Dr. Winick does not indicate that any reached station management via broadcast journalism, although he does note that a tenth had once been on newspapers, in unspecified capacities. There seems to be a clear implication here that television is governed by men oriented to advertising and entertainment. For journalists, the line of advancement clearly stops at the post of news and/or public affairs director.

## LETTERS

### The Burros case

#### TO THE REVIEW:

As the responsible editor in the case, let me say that I agree with the observation in the winter, 1966, issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* that the Daniel Burros story "can stand as a warning" against unwarranted invasions of privacy by the press.

At the same time, I think I owe it to the conscientious newspapermen under my supervision to underscore two or three other points made in your comment.

As you say, "Burros had made himself a public figure." He thereby, in some degree, forfeited his right to privacy. He belonged to an organization with a record of public advocacy and activity (it doesn't matter that it was the Ku Klux Klan). He had preached murder and mayhem against certain segments of the population, and thus invited rebuttal, if not reprisal. Finally, he was about to be served with a subpoena from a Congressional committee.

Your comment and the comments you quote from an unidentified lawyer carry the implication that *The New York Times* callously published its disclosure of Daniel Burros's Jewish background knowing that exposure would drive him to suicide.

Exactly the contrary was the case. Burros didn't threaten to kill himself. He threatened to kill McCandlish Phillips, who wrote the article, and to blow up *The New York Times*, which printed it.

According to the doctrine I seem to read in your comments, Daniel Burros was free to express scurrilous racist doctrines, but disclosing his own racial and religious origins was an invasion of his privacy.

This is not to say that we do not regret Daniel Burros's death. We do, and most sincerely. He was a

poor, unfortunate man who should not, in ordinary circumstances, have been held up to public scorn. There are times, however, when a man's very obsessions and aberrations become relevant to the news. Take the cases of Adolf Hitler and Lee Harvey Oswald, just to name two.

CLIFTON DANIEL  
Managing editor  
*The New York Times*

#### TO THE REVIEW:

If Daniel Burros had not shot himself, would you have found even the faintest impropriety in the *Times* piece which you suggest made him do so? I don't think it is fair to reason backwards from the suicide to an impeachment of the article.

The facts are simple. A man born and raised as a Jew chose to conceal his race, identify himself with two actively anti-Semitic organizations and rise to a leadership position in one of them. He strenuously sought publicity in the role of racist. He courted the attention that led the *Times* and its reporter to explore his background. What earthly excuse could a reporter have for not printing the facts which Burros couldn't bear having known?

People commit suicide when, and only when, life offers no tolerable alternative. The *Times* did not impose that condition on Burros. He imposed it on himself.

To blame the *Times* for his death is like blaming the engineer who builds a bridge for the death of the man who leaps from it.

Again and again in the columns of your excellent journal, you praise reportorial frankness and chide reportorial holdback. I'm sure you would not accept the explanation: "I was afraid he'd commit suicide!" for failure to print

something embarrassing. If Tom Wolfe had shot himself upon the appearance of the letter in your winter, 1966, issue, would you blame Renata Adler and Gerald Jonas?

DIGBY WHITMAN  
Wausau, Wisconsin

EDITOR'S NOTE: Both Mr. Daniel and Mr. Whitman assume that the *Review* blamed the *Times*, to a degree, for the suicide of Daniel Burros. The lawyer quoted in the editorial did so, but the editors quoted him only to indicate that the suicide had become an issue. Here is an attempt to restate, more directly, the *Review's* conclusions:

1. The *Times* editors cannot be held responsible for Burro's action. If editors were to try to guess the unforeseeable consequences of the news they publish, the newspaper would become a cripple.

2. The *Review* agrees that Burros, "in some degree, forfeited his right of privacy" by becoming a public figure and a member of an agitating organization. But it does not follow that he lost any rights because his doctrines were reprehensible. A man can advocate opinions that editors may find "scurrilous" and "racist" and not forfeit his claims to equitable treatment. It was in this sense only that the *Review* said that the Burros case could "stand as a warning."

### Connecticut's convention

#### TO THE REVIEW:

In your winter issue, "Passing Comment" substitutes flip judgment for solid fact in its poke at the way Connecticut newspapers covered the state's first constitutional convention in over half a century. AP and UPI are big enough to defend themselves—and probably will. And Tom Eaton of



WTIC-TV undoubtedly did his usually able job in rounding up comment, in airing it well, and — as you say — in covering “some” of the deliberations live.

*The New Haven Register*, however, at all times kept one or two legislative reporters of long experience at the convention. When the delegates sat, we were there. We ran more than 65,000 words, or more than ninety-eight columns of report on the convention’s session of twenty-seven working days, which were spread over a period from July 1 to October 28. There were twenty-four front page stories, several interpretives on our special Sunday “Focus” page, and some editorials.

Your claim that Connecticut dailies “restricted themselves largely to routine stories based on handouts from party politicians” is wholly untrue in our case — and, we think, in the case of other dailies. The convention, however, was inescapably routine in political terms since the legislature had limited membership to forty-two party-selected Democrats and forty-two party-selected Republicans, whose spokesmen were quite naturally the party chairmen.

When the convention’s decisions were put to a special state-wide referendum last December, *The New Haven Register* and its sister morning paper, *The Journal-Courier*, for the first time in their history mounted a joint front-page editorial campaign, which ran three days, first reviewing the whole historic reapportionment and convention issue, secondly recommending adoption of the constitution, thirdly outlining our position on a special constitutional question about the right of eminent domain. Every editorial stressed the need for a maximum vote — and when the count was in and the new constitution adopted our New Haven readership area showed some of the highest voter turnouts in the state.

To be sure, we invited in no “experts,” aside from our own, while in the process of reporting everything significant that was said or done in connection with the constitutional convention. But we are

satisfied that we met every obligation to our readers, and every obligation to history, too, in the coverage we provided. And we’ll send you the clips if you’d like them.

ROBERT J. LEENEY  
Executive editor  
*The New Haven Register*

## Praise and warning

TO THE REVIEW:

Thanks and congratulations on the lead article in the winter, 1966, issue of the *Review*. As a faithful reader and charter subscriber, I can say easily that William A. Wood’s “The Sound of Maturity” is the most sensible, accurate, and enlightening article I’ve yet seen on broadcast journalism.

His central points bear underscoring in light of the recent resignation of Fred Friendly from CBS. Far too many journalists and would-be television critics will misinterpret Mr. Friendly’s resignation as another indication that the broadcast industry is avariciously selling the public short. The well-intentioned detractors and lamenters will overlook the reality of economics and sound programming at the network level, and the necessity for orderly chain-of-command in corporate decision-making, which truly explain his departure.

The growing wealth of local and network news/information programming, so clearly portrayed in part by Professor Wood, will likely be ignored in discussions of Mr. Friendly’s resignation. Painful introspection is a necessary part of journalism, but in practicing it (in our thinking and in our trade publications) we must not let zeal overcome perspective. We must not let our collective shortcomings rob us of our confidence.

The honestly qualified praise of Professor Wood’s article seems to me to be far more valuable to our profession than the growing number of defensive, self-effacing expressions I read from members of my profession these days.

We journalists are contributing

more and accomplishing more than any of our number in days gone by. If the public problems we confront seem to stay always a step ahead of us, we must accept it as a challenge, not as an indictment. We are not responsible for the ills our country suffers simply because we too have sore spots.

GARRY D. GREENBERG  
News director  
KVOA-TV  
Tucson, Arizona

## Episode closed

TO THE REVIEW:

In his reply to my letter in your winter issue regarding his article, “Journalism’s Wholesalers,” [fall, 1965] Ben H. Bagdikian has further demonstrated his ignorance in the area his article covered.

I have never seen a syndicate contract which specified, or even suggested, that the terms remain secret. I do not believe Mr. Bagdikian ever has. Syndicate salesmen frequently use prices paid by other papers in their negotiations for sales. Editors frequently exchange such information.

Mr. Bagdikian offers me “a deal.” He says that if I will reveal to the *Review* the total weekly price my newspaper pays for the Pearson package and it is less than \$250, he will pay me the difference.

*The Evening and Sunday Bulletin* pays exactly \$175 per week for the “Pearson package,” which includes seven columns per week, plus a number of specials which are sent us at irregular intervals.

I shall await Mr. Bagdikian’s check for \$75. When it is received, \$37.50 will be sent immediately to Big Brothers, which Mr. Pearson informs me is his favorite charity at this moment, and the other \$37.50 to CARE, which is mine. The receipts for these contributions will be sent to the *Review* when received.

WILLIAM B. DICKINSON  
Managing editor  
*The Evening  
and Sunday Bulletin*  
Philadelphia

## LETTERS

**MR. BAGDIKIAN REPLIES:** When Mr. Dickinson made his complaint I checked with Drew Pearson's syndicate, which said I was roughly correct in my figure. The syndicate now says it made a mistake. Mr. Dickinson is entitled to the \$75 and I to a large portion of crow.

[The *Review* has received notification from all parties that the \$75 has been received and sent to the charities specified by Mr. Dickinson.]

### New Yorker affair

TO THE REVIEW:

In your last issue, your article on Tom Wolfe's *New Yorker* article ran with the question "Is Fact Necessary?" As for me, I feel that facts are of primary importance, and since the *Columbia Journalism Review*, ostensibly a scholarly journal, neglected to follow the rule of seeking out primary sources, I would like to set the record straight.

The article leaves the impression that Tom Wolfe and I had a chance to read through the Jonas and Adler presumed list of errors. The fact is that until we read it in print (too late to correct the mistakes in it) neither he nor I ever had a chance to see this incredible list, much less answer it.

I had heard rumors that Jonas and Adler were preparing such a report, and in fact, had sent word to them that I would print it in the *Tribune* magazine—at least those parts of it that corrected genuine errors. This occurred one day last spring when Gloria Steinem, a free lance writer, called me and said that she was having lunch with Renata Adler who was preparing a report and would I print such a thing. It was

shortly after the *New Yorker* articles originally appeared that I told Miss Steinem to tell her that I would run their rebuttal. My offer was refused. I also told Dwight Macdonald that I would run his rebuttal. That offer was refused. I held my final form open until Friday noon (which was pushing my closing back as far as possible) the first week, waiting for Macdonald's reply, but he missed the deadline. The next week, on Monday, I called and told him that I could save a full page for a reply if I could have the article by Wednesday; otherwise, I would have to fill the space in order to meet the production schedule. He wrote me a letter declining the offer.

I mention these two incidents, to refute the ridiculous statement made by Leonard Lewin, that a communication sent to the *New York Review of Books* by the *Tribune's* attorney, which he admits he never read because in his words "...neither Macdonald nor NYRB editor Robert B. Silvers was willing to comment on its contents, there is reason to believe that it was intended to deter publication of all or part of the forthcoming piece." Mr. Lewin's only evidence for this unjustified conclusion is that the *NYRB* originally planned to run the article in September or October, 1965; it ran in the issue dated February 3, 1966. I suggest that Mr. Lewin is as innocent of the procrastinating ways of writers as he is of the practice and ethics of journalism. Since the record shows that I agreed to run both of these articles in my magazine, it is obvious that I was not trying to suppress them.

Just as we attempted to make it possible for Mr. Shawn to check the facts of the *New Yorker* article (which he declined) so should we have been offered the same opportunity. At no time were we offered the chance to rebut the so-called "correction" on the Jonas-Adler list. As to Lewin's statement that a "considerable effort" was made to provide me with an opportunity to answer some questions he raised, the fact is that I could not see Mr. Lewin in the relatively short time he had before his dead-

line. The *Tribune* magazine averages 44 editorial pages weekly, which I handle with the aid of a single copyreader. At that time, we were working on shortened production schedules because of printers' holidays (you have heard of lead time, haven't you, Mr. Lewin?) in addition to putting out a special issue at the end of the year on the Lindsay-Beame campaign. Because of personal reasons, I took a trip over the holidays, out of the country.

I'm truly sorry I didn't take time out of a terribly busy schedule to devote several hours with Mr. Lewin defending myself against his obvious prejudice and eagerness to believe the non-facts of the Jonas-Adler list. Instead I opted to try and meet my magazine deadline with the hope that I could meet with Lewin some time after the first of the year, when I called him back. Hundreds of other people send me manuscripts, I don't know why Lewin couldn't have, especially since I had told him that I was willing to talk to him but that at the time I was busy. Obviously, the *Columbia Journalism Review* was afraid of checking their story for fear it might have lost it by learning the truth.

CLAY FELKER  
Editor, Sunday Magazine  
*New York Herald Tribune*

**MR. LEWIN REPLIES:** I'm happy to read of Mr. Felker's view that facts are important. Let me add a few that bear on his two charges against me in particular.

"Ridiculous statement." I "had reason to believe" in the existence of the put-on-notice letter from the *Trib's* attorney to the *NYRB*, because I knew of the letter, its nature, and its effect. It has since been quoted in print (see *Newsweek*, January 31).

"Chance to rebut." As I stated in the article, Mr. Felker first agreed to see me to comment on the issues raised and then made himself unavailable. His letter implies that my effort to seek his

views was strictly *pro forma* and that I put him under the gun with an impossible time limit. From the time when he first agreed to discuss the matter (early in December) to the time when the piece had to be closed (early in January) I called him at least a dozen times, and was put off in all the obvious ways with which every reporter is familiar. Twice during this period I had my original deadline (December 23) extended in order to include his comments; all this was known to him, along with my willingness to meet him at any time or place or to discuss the matter on the telephone if necessary. When he finally returned my calls (on January 18) he expressed no concern whatever over the lost opportunity to comment. The only real question involved, he said, was whether *The New Yorker* was or was not a dull magazine; other objections to Wolfe's pieces were irrelevant.

#### TO THE REVIEW:

May I suggest that in the next compilation of your "Concise Bartlett's for Journalists" you include this from Leonard C. Lewin's article ["Is Fact Necessary?"] in your winter, 1966, issue:

"Fact and fiction, like news and opinion, must be made distinguish-

able, however interwoven and however great an effort it requires from the reader or writer."

Having reached this summit of wisdom and ethics in the fourth number of its fourth volume, the *Review* has certainly justified its existence.

HENRY BEETLE HOUGH  
Editor and publisher  
*Vineyard Gazette*  
Edgartown, Massachusetts

#### TO THE REVIEW:

Without praising or criticizing Tom Wolfe, *The New Yorker*, Clay Felker, William Shawn, John Hay Whitney, Dwight Macdonald, the late Frank Luther Mott or Miss Peach—simply on the grounds that people who are so concerned about keeping the record absolutely straight should get their facts right—I should like to mention an error in the Adler-Jonas letter about why the *Herald Trib* is a rat fink.

Miss Adler and Mr. Jonas write that Joyce Cary "was first published in *Esquire* in December, 1963—several years after his death." I was on the staff of *Esquire* from April, 1951, through January, 1954, and during this time commissioned from Mr. Cary, sent back for revision (heart in

mouth), and then saw through the press an article entitled *Christmas in Africa*. It must have run in the Christmas issue for '52 or '53. I leave Miss Adler and Mr. Jonas, whose resources for such research are obviously greater than mine, to determine whether or not this article appeared before Mr. Cary's debut in *The New Yorker*, which they state as August, 1953.

So what? Except perhaps to make the odd point that *Esquire* was not until recently indexed in *Reader's Guide*, and is still not in the collection of the New York Public Library.

Yours in cold blood —

MARTIN MAYER  
New York

MISS ADLER AND MR. JONAS  
REPLY: Yes, Joyce Cary was first published in *Esquire* in December, 1953. We are happy to make the correction, and to observe that Mr. Mayer is as concerned with accuracy as we are. It seems worth pointing out, however, that the error was innocent, and not tendentious. The fact still is that Joyce Cary, like so many of the other writers on Wolfe's "lists," appeared both earlier and more frequently in *The New Yorker* than in the magazine to which Wolfe mistakenly, tendentiously assigned him.



## LETTERS

### WHAM and the blackout

*In the winter issue, the Review printed the following paragraph in a short item by the editors about radio's role in the power blackout of November 9-10, 1965:*

but the tone was calm and the advice was put, stay off the telephone — was sound.

The exception to the rule appeared to be the 50,000-watt WHAM, Rochester, New York, which, in *Newsweek's* words, "issued exaggerated reports of looting at 6 p.m. and had to spend the next six hours discounting its own statements." A letter to *Newsweek* from the station president did not clarify matters: "Apparently, early broadcasts\* reporting looting were told and retold until the networks were saying that there was widespread looting and rioting in the city. One such report was inadvertently carried over WHAM during a network feed from American Broadcasting Co., with which WHAM is affiliated. The station repeatedly denied reports of serious looting during the evening, not only to reassure its audience, but also to correct the networks, which could not be reached by more normal means of communication."

\*By WHAM? — Ed.

*The letters printed below were received from the president of WHAM and the director of ABC radio news.*

#### TO THE REVIEW:

This refers to your insert on page 22 of your winter, 1966, issue titled "Radio's Night."

We are getting a bit tired of being maligned by misinformed Monday morning quarterbacks. We reported the truth and otherwise seem to have performed an outstanding service during the power failure. WHAM was Rochester's only broadcast station on the air throughout the emergency.

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WHAM was also the only one of the twelve 50,000-watt stations in New York State back on the air, as soon as automatic generating equipment could start itself, with full power and with complete studio facilities. Your implications and facts are as wrong as those of the correspondent who fed *Newsweek* the original story. By curious coincidence, he works for a rival newspaper whose station was off the air.

The 6 p.m. broadcasts over WHAM reported that all available police cars were ordered into certain Rochester districts to investigate reported looting. WHAM carried an official city government bulletin confirming that there was looting. A UPI reporter claims that Rochester's chief of police told him that the looting could be described as "widespread." UPI originated such a story to the networks and other subscribers. Fortunately, the attention focused on these areas by WHAM broadcasts and prompt police action nipped an ugly situation in the bud.

Adverse national publicity forced city officials to play down the looting. However, stores were broken into in several locations and merchandise was stolen before the police arrived on the scene to maintain law and order.

You see, the "early reports" (over WHAM) were not exaggerated. It was the networks and some of the morning papers that carried exaggerated reports of widespread looting and rioting. WHAM never used the words "widespread" or "rioting." WHAM reported the situation "well in hand" within the same fifteen minute newscast that it reported looting serious enough to have all available police rush into the area. I trust this clarifies matters for your questioning editor.

W. F. RUST, JR.  
President and general manager  
WHAM, Rochester

#### TO THE REVIEW:

In your winter, 1966, issue, you devoted more than five pages to an

analysis of "blackout" coverage given by the print media.

Perhaps it struck you as odd as it did us, but the only reference to broadcast journalism was in a box on page 22. The information in the box is incomplete.

First of all, our affiliate WHAM did carry reports early that evening, November 9... reports that police had been called to a certain vicinity of Rochester and that there was some looting. This was in fact the case.

Shortly after that, UPI carried a report on its wire which was rebroadcast by ABC Radio News out of Chicago. This was the first mention on the ABC Radio Network.

Subsequently, we heard from our affiliate WHAM notifying us that the looting was indeed minor, that order had been restored. This is the way we reported it for the rest of that long night.

The point is that at the outset the only way this story got nationwide exposure was via UPI. At least, so far as we know.

It would be almost impossible to suggest that only the ABC Radio Network and WHAM broadcast this story nationwide. But this is what your article implies. And of course, as we said, after the early report and through the co-operation of our affiliate WHAM we took steps to put the early reports in their proper perspective.

So far as we know, no one has mentioned UPI's part in this, and we are not saying that they were in error. But they were certainly instrumental in getting the story out of Rochester.

We have had a lot of "static" on this particular incident. Much of it has been uncalled-for. This is the first time we have taken formal steps to set the record straight, and we do so because we were surprised to find your *Review* perpetuating the same misconception.

Many of us here at ABC Radio have subscribed to your publication since its inception and have always found it fair and accurate in its very interesting treatment of journalism. We sincerely hope that the facts contained herein will prompt you to set that matter of responsibility straight.



For the record, this network overtuned its radio news lines seven hours in order to cover the Northeast blackout story. We did not write thirty to the coverage until 6:30 a.m. on November 10.

I might add that we were the only network news organization to offer such complete coverage to our nation-wide complex of stations.

TOM O'BRIEN  
Vice president and director  
ABC radio news  
New York

[See box at right.]

## Viet Nam Censorship

### TO THE REVIEW:

I wish to reply to Martin Gershen's letter in the winter issue of the *Review* than in part took issue with the objectivity of my article, "Censorship and Cam Ne."

Mr. Gershen asserted that "one had to read carefully and dig deeply to learn that the possibility exists that the press may be partly to blame for its troubles with the censors [in Vietnam.]"

I dispute this. Quotations by Edward P. Morgan and William F. Buckley, Jr., illustrating the possible roots of these difficulties, were present in the story and were used as rebuttals to anti-censorship charges made by other journalists. Mr. Gershen acknowledged this himself in his letter, so I can see no reason for his assertion.

He also found disagreeable a quotation from Phil Newsom of UPI in which Mr. Newsom made certain charges and implications that Mr. Gershen sought to deflate.

The Newsom passage was inserted by the editor of the *Review* (the only editorial addition in the story); the first time I saw it was after it had been printed. Both the editor and I agree that it should have been discussed with me prior to publication, although he did have the final option in either case, because my story was a staff assignment. If I had been consulted, I

Mr. O'Brien enclosed the following items, which he identifies as UPI material transmitted on the evening of November 9, 1965 at 6:43, 9:57, and 11:39:

B39N RX

**LOOTING—WITH POWER**  
ROCHESTER, N.Y., NOV. 9 (UPI)—LOOTERS BEGAN OPERATING IN ROCHESTER TONIGHT SHORTLY AFTER A POWER FAILURE BLACKED OUT THE AREA.  
ALL POLICE CARS WERE ORDERED TO THE JOSEPH AVENUE SECTION, IN DOWNTOWN ROCHESTER, WHERE LOOTING WAS REPORTED. A LARGE CROWD WAS REPORTED ASSEMBLED ON THE SIDEWALKS, BREAKING STORE WINDOWS AND CARRYING AWAY MERCHANDISE.  
THE BLACKOUT MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR POLICE CARS TO SIFT THROUGH THE DOWNTOWN TRAFFIC.  
THE LOOTER AREA WAS HIT BY RIOTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1964.  
EARLY REPORTS FROM POLICE INDICATED DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE CROWDS, BUT A POLICE OFFICIAL SAID LATER THE SITUATION HAD BEEN BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL WITHIN GROUPS OF MILING PEOPLE BROKEN UP AND THE LOOTERS CHASED FROM THE STORES.  
THE POLICE USED PLANS DRAWN UP AFTER THE 1964 RIOTS TO BREAK UP TONIGHT'S DISORDER, AN OFFICER SAID.

AVL345PCB

1ST LEAD LOOTING (B39)

ROCHESTER, N.Y., NOV. 9 (UPI)—POLICE RUSHED TO A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AREA TONIGHT WHEN A LARGE CROWD ASSEMBLED SHORTLY AFTER THE CITY WAS BLACKED OUT BY A MASSIVE POWER FAILURE.  
WINDOWS WERE BROKEN AND THERE WERE SOME REPORTS OF LOOTING.  
BUT AT ALBANY, N.Y., GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER SAID ONE REPORT OF LOOTING AND RIOTING IN ROCHESTER WAS INVESTIGATED BY HIS CHIEF OF STAFF WHO SAID THERE WAS "NO BASIS" FOR THE REPORT.  
ROCHESTER CITY MANAGER PAUL CURRAN DENIED THAT RIOTING OR LOOTING OCCURRED IN THE CITY.  
"WE HAD NOT HAVE ANY RIOTING OR LOOTING," CURRAN SAID. "THERE WERE A COUPLE OF INCIDENTS IN SEVERAL AREAS WHERE WINDOWS WERE BROKEN."  
POLICE CHIEF WILLIAM LOMBARD ALSO SAID WINDOWS IN A NUMBER OF STORES IN THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO ST. JOSEPH AVENUE SECTION WERE BROKEN. BUT HE SAID THE DISTURBANCES WERE NOT RIOTS.  
SHORTLY AFTER THE POWER FAILURE ALL POLICE CARS WERE ORDERED INTO THE SECTION, HIT BY RIOTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1964. POLICE HAD DIFFICULTY GETTING THROUGH DOWNTOWN TRAFFIC, PILED UP BY THE BLACKOUT.  
EARLY REPORTS FROM POLICE INDICATED DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING THE CROWDS BUT A POLICE OFFICIAL SAID LATER THE SITUATION HAD BEEN BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL AND GROUPS OF MILING PEOPLE BROKEN UP.  
ONE POLICE OFFICER SAID PLANS DRAWN UP AFTER THE 1964 RIOTS WERE USED TO BREAK UP TONIGHT'S DISORDER.  
(INCLUDES PREVIOUS)

IN957PCB11/9

B79N RX

ADV: 1ST LEAD LOOTING ROCHESTER (B62N) X X X TONIGHT'S DISORDER.  
POWER WAS RESTORED IN DOWNTOWN ROCHESTER, N.Y., ABOUT 9:20 PM, AND WITHIN ONE HALF HOUR TO 45 MINUTES IT WAS RESTORED NORTHWARD TO LAKE ONTARIO.  
THE POLICE ORDER SENDING CRUISERS INTO THE ST. JOSEPH AVENUE NEIGHBORHOOD WAS RESCINDED ABOUT 20 MINUTES AFTER IT WAS ISSUED.  
THE CRUISERS WERE WITHDRAWN AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD WAS REPORTED QUIET.

RM1139PCB11/9

don't think I would have objected to its use. My only demurrer would have been to argue for a redress of the story's balance, which I think was affected by that addition. However, the net result there

was merely the inclusion of one more partisan voice and not the obfuscation of the opposing side's point of view.

RICHARD E. RUSTIN  
New York

# Reston sums up

Remarks by James Reston, associate editor of The New York Times and winner of Pulitzer Prizes in national reporting in 1945 and 1957, at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the awards at the Hotel Plaza, May 10, 1966. This text contains modifications made in delivery.

I suppose I am here because it is the reporter's business, from time to time, to muscle into places where he is not expected to be. I think I should say to you quite frankly that Dean Barrett had a hard time in trying to get somebody to fill this spot in front of this audience. After all, it is not studded with poets and historians but with newspaper men, and I'm supposed to talk for them. In explaining this, I should say to you that Mr. Walter Lippmann is in California and Joe Alsop finally gave up on the President and has, I think, gone off to bomb Hanoi on his own.

I ask you to think about the sweep of change of these fifty years: in politics, from Woodrow Wilson to Lyndon Johnson; in world affairs, from Lenin to Kossygin; in journalism, from Lippmann, Krock, and David Lawrence to Lippmann, Krock, and David Lawrence.

Anyway, this is a wonderful occasion, full of the modesty of journalism. For here again are we newspapermen, who cannot agree upon any standards for ourselves, celebrating the presumption to set standards for fifty years for everybody else. I didn't know Mr. Pulitzer, but I assume he had a sense of humor.

My assignment is to sit down in four and a half minutes and meanwhile to recite on some of the trends in my craft. It is not easy. Things are getting a little mixed up in the writing business. The journalists have been winning Pulitzer Prizes for history, and the historians have been winning history prizes for journalism, and it has even been suggested occasionally that we have been winning prizes for what was really fiction.

Now, about this business of trends. We can, I think, identify some trends of the past twenty years anyway. The main problem in our business in the last generation has been to reconcile the

tradition of newspapering with our new duties — to keep our attitudes and our methods up to date with the new responsibilities of our country in the world.

This has not been easy. Our tradition is to be skeptical of power, to publish whatever is done by our government except in time of absolute war. This was all established when we were an isolated country, before we lived in the half-light between war and peace, before we had a secret service operating all over the world. I believe we have made some progress, but the world has changed faster than we can change ourselves. We have a new role in a new world, and we in the newspaper business have not yet caught up.

We are gradually learning that we are no longer the first couriers of the news. We cannot get there as fast as the radio or describe spectacular events as well as the television. We resent this and we stick in our furrow like the obsolete mule, but the new age is good for us. It is forcing us to use our minds as well as our legs. It is making us think about the causes of violence, rebellion, and war rather than merely reporting the struggle in the streets. And this, in turn, is giving us the opportunity to attract a much more intelligent, sensitive company of reporters than we have ever had before.

This new generation of reporters is quite different from the old combative types, many of whom won Pulitzer Prizes for some thumping disclosure. They are specialists. They do not have to stay with one newspaper or another. The Government, the Foundation, the big American international corporation, and the university, are interested in specialists who know something about relations with the public. The best of these new journalists can be ambassadors, or vice presidents of Ford, or Assistant Secretaries of State, or instant professors at more money than they can normally make in the newspaper business. It is a new generation and a new problem.

They are better educated in this generation, of course, and the advantages of this are obvious, but while they are brainier they are not more muscular. They know what to say now after they get through the door, but I have a feeling that they don't knock down as many doors. I am not sure that this is progress.

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The balance of political power in America is not running with the press or the Congress but with the President. He now has more power to make war, to tolerate or create the conditions that lead to war than ever before. The point could be proved if we had time. But in any event, we are going to have to use blunt instruments and have some tough characters around, and sometimes I wonder about this, especially when I listen to news conferences at the State Department.

Some of the old newspaper traditions, of course, we maintain. Our self-righteousness, I can assure you, is undiminished. Our capacity to criticize everybody and our imperviousness to criticism ourselves, are still, I believe, unmatched by novelists, poets or anybody else. The biggest story of the last fifty years has been revolutionary change, which we have urged everybody to embrace, but we have changed less than any other business in America, done less research and development than any other industry, and established a system of labor relations that makes Jimmy Hoffa look like a statesman.

I trust you will not misunderstand. I believe in my profession. For all its troubles it never had a better chance for public service or a greater opportunity for creative minds than it does today. I envy the poets, novelists, historians and musicians here, not because I think they are so wonderful, but because they can concentrate on the yearnings of the human spirit, and on truth rather than news, which is not the same thing as truth. I am impressed with them also because I don't see how they get their inner torments down on paper without the tyranny of a daily newspaper deadline.

But just as the Nineteenth Century was the century of the novelist, so this post-war phase of the Twentieth Century may be the era of the journalist. It may very well be that America needs a Whitman who can articulate the tradition of the past and the mission of the future.

Have the elder races faltered?  
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied  
over there beyond the seas?  
We take up the task eternal, and the burden  
and the lesson.  
Pioneers! O pioneers!

Whitman put it all in this couplet, and we wait

for another to strike the true note, combine the old symbols with the new realities and influence the spirit of the coming age, but pending the arrival of this popular philosopher poet, the rest of us have to do the best we can, and the reporter, I believe, has an important part to play.

In some ways his opportunity is greater or anyway, easier, than the poet's or the novelist's, because he does not have to create his audience. He writes when the people are paying attention. The violent convulsions of the time concentrate the public mind, startle the people out of their normal preoccupations with family and work, and then for a brief time — but only for a brief time — the reporter is an educator, and the press and television have more effect on public attitudes and assumptions in the nation than all the schools, universities and books in the land.

Somewhere there is a line where the old skeptical, combative, publish-and-be-damned tradition of the past in our papers may converge with the new intelligence and the new duties and responsibilities of this rising and restless generation. I wish I knew how to find it, for it could help both the newspapers and the nation in their present plight, and it could help us believe again, which in this age of tricks and techniques, may be our greatest need.

At the moment we are left in Washington and in our newspapers with pragmatism, which is a useful tool but a poor guide, and reliable guides are hard to come by.

The best one I know of came from the opening statement of principles of *The Spectator* in London at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

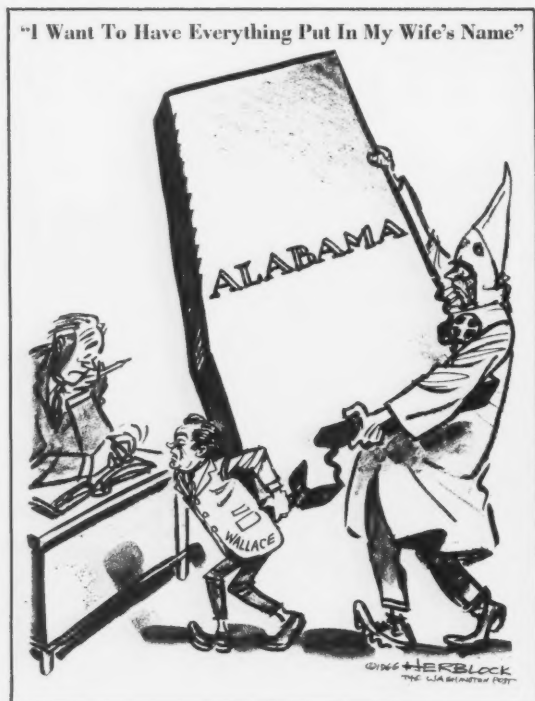
Then it was said that the purpose of the paper, after reporting the news, was "to correct the vices, ridicule the follies, and dissipate the ignorance which too generally prevail . . ." And to do so "by enlivening morality with wit, and tempering wit with morality." These, they said, were "the great and noble objects *The Spectator* ever holds in view."

The newspapers, I believe, are now yearning toward this objective — at least some of them are — and after fifty more years of the Pulitzer Committee, perhaps we shall achieve it.

## the lower case

### Doctored cartoon

Left, a Herblock cartoon as it appeared in The Washington Post, February 25, 1966. Right, the version that appeared in The Huntsville (Alabama) Times on February 27 and in The Tuscaloosa News on March 1.



### Sleepy heads

## Deaths You May Have Missed

Boston Traveler, April 8, after the newspaper blackout

## WAR DIMS HOPES FOR PEACE

Wisconsin State Journal, December 27, 1965

